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By

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PREFACE

Several years ago the Harlem Branch of the Young Men's Christian Association of the City of New York undertook to put into practice in its work with boys the principle of using the small group as the unit of organization. Clubs were formed and substituted for the gymnasium classes, and hobby clubs were superseded by groups which maintained their identity throughout the entire Association program. It was the author's privilege to observe the operation of the plan for one year and personally to lead six of these groups during the second year of its operation. He also had opportunity to watch the operation of a similar plan in the Young Men's Division in which he had a share in the training of leaders.

Transferring from Harlem to the suburban Association at Montclair, N. J., the author was eager to see this principle of work established there and to observe what form it might take in this totally different situation. While this volume makes no pretense of reporting the findings of this experimentation, the theory and philosophy of Y.M.C.A. work presented here finds its base in the results of the work with small groups carried on by these two Associations during the past four years.

Inasmuch as the work at the Harlem Association merely furnished the beginning, having stopped with

the closing of that Association, the description of actual procedures in organization have been limited to the Montclair Association. The author has, however, felt free to use as illustrative material certain case group records that came from the Harlem Association.

It has been rather difficult at times to distinguish between what has actually been accomplished to date and what remains as the next step just ahead. Where this next step has been indicated clearly by what has gone before little attempt has been made to differentiate between the two. It is, of course, always dangerous to draw conclusions from evidence that is not all in. However, the generalizations here set forth pretend to be a great deal more than imaginative, disinterested guesses about the social behavior of groups of boys and men. It is not the author's purpose to attempt a reconstruction of the Young Men's Christian Associations in the light of his particular guesses about certain values in life and how they may be realized. As a "participant observer" in the experiment here described as well as in the continuous experiment of living in society, the author is suggesting certain generalizations, most of which are capable of objective verification in the activities of social groups about us.

It is hoped that the secretary will use this monograph as something of a laboratory manual, testing out its generalizations, adding to the data already collected, improving upon its technique, and revealing new horizons of work with boys and young men.

The reader will discover that there is little here that is original, but that materials have been drawn from many sources. The author's dependence upon former

teachers and progressive thinkers, who are blazing new trails in religious education, finds a partial expression in the footnotes and bibliography references.

The author has had in mind as the monograph was worked out the fine cooperation of his colleagues in the Young Men's Christian Association, whose efforts and understanding made possible the experimentation here described. If he were making a dedication it would be to them. His thanks are due especially to A. J. Gregg, for help in revising the manuscript and preparing it for the publishers, and to Marie McArdle, upon whom devolved the laborious task of copying, verifying, and indexing, to which task she brought so keen a sense of understanding and participation.

J. C. M.

Montclair, N. J.
April, 1930.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION: WHY THE PROBLEM OF GROUPING

The past decade has witnessed a pronounced breaking away from the traditional departmental plan of organization in the Young Men's Christian Association in favor of an emphasis upon varieties of small groups. The growing dissatisfaction with the separation of life programs into segments which was back of the departmental organization has resulted in attempts to build a total program around a given group of individuals and its leader. An increasing number of Associations are experimenting in this field and their findings seem destined to open up new vistas of work.

In some of these places the church group has been used as the unit of organization; in others the school group has been the dominant one; while in still others attempts have been made to use a variety of such groups. Which is proving most successful is difficult to tell, partly because there have been so few reports of these experiments, and partly because success in this field is a rather difficult item to measure.

The Association, whose experience in the transition from the departmental plan of organization to the group plan is the basis of this study, has attempted to work with a variety of groups. Primarily the play

group has been the one to which most attention has been given, although there are interest groups, church groups, work groups, and school groups to be found in the program as it has been carried on.

The constructive side of this transition will be dealt with fully. Its statement and explanation are the main theme. In order to put such a statement in its proper setting, it is necessary to show what changes the newer convictions about methods of character development and religious education have brought about within the Association's attitudes toward departmental organization.

Dissatisfaction with the Departmentalized Programs

The questions which one would naturally ask first, if he were seeking to understand the steps taken by this Association, would be: Why was there dissatisfaction with the departmentalization scheme and program? What considerations led to the adoption of a different scheme of doing work with boys?

Probably one of the first objections to the traditional scheme was that it did not easily lend itself to modern educational methods. When the boys' work secretary attempted to build up a program from the interests of boys, he encountered difficulty in that these interests must be divided between two departments—the Boys' and the Physical. When a club leader attempted to work on the interest basis, he of necessity had to seek for interests other than physical upon which to work, or else persistently thrust himself into the work of the Physical Department, compelling it to shift its program

to conform to the interests of his group. On the other hand when the physical director worked on the interest basis he suddenly found himself, due to growth of interests, thrust into the work of the Boys' Department, until the distinction between the two, when there was close cooperation, became one of name only. To enable this cooperation to become more effective was one of the first considerations upon which the change was made.

A second and major charge leveled against the departmentalized program by the staff members giving thought to the matter was that it failed to give due recognition to the life of the individual boy member as he lived in his home, church, school, and community. It made little difference in the program whether the boy was finding satisfaction in a normal play group relationship. It mattered not whether the club set up at the Association building competed with another group for the boy's first loyalty. The boy was urged to bring in his friends, but the thought back of this was to increase the membership and the class attendance rather than to furnish a group which might be more effective in the Association's program as then conducted. As a whole the multiplicity of life, its complexity, its many interests and activities, made little difference in the program, which was planned for boys as individuals, not social creatures.

Another dissatisfaction growing out of this lack of recognition that boys are already members of existing groups was the feeling that the "carry-over" to daily life of what was being learned at the building or in the Association's activities was not as great as it might

be. Boys were discovered who behaved one way at the Association and another way at school. Dave, for instance, was a diligent and faithful member of the Boys' Department. He attended the gymnasium classes regularly, loafed and played games in the boys' lobby, and behaved himself with the dignity becoming a Y.M.C.A. boy. But when the visiting teacher of the school called on the secretary to inquire as to Dave's well-being, it was discovered that the Y.M.C.A. Dave was quite a different chap from the school Dave, who was the despair of all his teachers. Somehow there hadn't been the carry-over from "Y" to school. As this lack of carry-over was being discussed it was suggested that one of four things might happen to a boy who, being a member of some other group, joined the association:

First, he might learn nothing new or different in the way of attitudes or behavior, in which case there would be no problem.

Second, he might convert the members of his other group with whom he shares a part of life, to the new ideas and attitudes learned at the "Y". The extent to which this happens might be measured roughly by the number of times a boy brings in the remainder of his group and has them join the "Y".

Third, the group might convince him that the new ways of behaving are not so desirable and so the boy would discontinue his attendance at the "Y".

Fourth, he might do as Dave did and live a double life; when with the gang do as the gang does, when at the "Y" do as the "Y" boys do. Religious programs divorced from life have singularly encouraged this sort of living.

It was therefore evident that if a program was to be built which would insure more "carry-over" it

must take into account the various interests, existing groups, and behavior patterns of the members themselves, and must be built as nearly like life itself as it could possibly be made. Hence stereotyped physical programs would have to give way to natural and recreational programs. Highly artificial mass groups must be supplanted by small natural groups just as nearly like those in which the fellows lived as the combined intelligence of those directing the work could make them.

A fourth dissatisfaction with the existing situation was somewhat akin to the first, a feeling that the departmentalized organization made democracy and self-government for boys a very difficult procedure. The growth of the Young Men's Christian Associations, from a small homogeneous group banded together in a movement to do a specific task to a large institution with membership figures in the thousands, had made democracy well-nigh impossible without some change in organization. "Too often," says McKim, "a very small group of men, most of whom are over fifty years of age, have captured the Movement and conducted it as a benevolent oligarchy in which the members have little or no voice." [1] In rethinking their plans for work with boys the secretaries all felt that any scheme of organization ought to provide for an increasing participation by boys themselves in the conduct of the Association in order that they might learn-by-doing the rudiments of democratic government.

And finally, there was a general dissatisfaction with

[1] McKim, J. J. *The Operation and Management of the Local Young Men's Christian Association,* p. 56.

the whole notion of departmentalization. Not only did it make self-government a difficult task, not only did it fail to insure a large amount of carry-over of what was learned, but it seemed to be building up in the minds of boys a compartmentalized conception of life. There seemed to be a gap between what was physical, for instance, and what was devotional; between what was interesting, and what was good for one. It seemed to be building up the notion that one grows by exercising individually and separately the muscles of the body, the muscles of the mind, and the muscles of the spirit.

The more the matter was considered the more it was felt that leaders ought not to have to persuade, urge, and entice boys to participate in programs that were concerned with religious growth; that it ought not to be necessary to search high and low for devices, such as awards, points and social approval, with which to interest boys; that somehow the good life ought to be able to live itself without being bolstered up by all this impedimenta designed to make it attractive. While not placing all of the blame for this state of affairs upon the scheme of organization, there was the definite feeling that it aggravated the illness by widening the gap between the thoughts imbedded in a worth while program and the spontaneous thinking of live red-blooded boys.

Hence, the secretaries and physical directors interested in the work with boys set about, under the guidance of A. J. Gregg and G. O. Draper of the National Council, to build up an organization which would permit secretaries and leaders to view a boy's life as a

whole, to build general and specific objectives in terms of the types of experience desirable, attainable and appropriate to the growing boy's interests; which would substitute for the traditional program of gymnasium classes, hobby clubs, and mass stunts, groups of boys living and experimenting with life, with a program developed from their actual life situations and the problems arising therein.

Problems in the Use of the Small Group

Any one at all acquainted with the practices of the Young Men's Christian Associations will realize that a decision by a local Association to adopt the small group as the unit of organization was not at that time a very radical procedure nor something entirely new in Association history. For some time there had been a trend toward the use of these small units. Clubs of various kinds had been in existence practically from the founding of the Movement. Within recent years there has been and still is a definite trend away from the mass idea that came to be part of the growing institution, and a more serious emphasis upon work with small groups. Among those activities that had been styled distinctly religious, discussion groups, forums, and supper clubs had supplanted large meetings. In the physical field special interest groups, such as basketball groups, handball groups, etc., had been consuming an increasing portion of the program heretofore devoted to calisthenics and other mass gymnasium activities. In the work with boys and young men club work had become recognized as an integral part of the whole program. As early as 1910 a direct effort was

made to replace the spectacular stunts and large meetings of boys with more intensive work with small groups. The Christian Citizenship Program was seemingly a direct outgrowth of this emphasis.

The problem of how to organize these small groups and provide for their functioning within the total program of the Association had been a constant companion of the growing trend to use them. At first they seemed only to supplement the real organization and program, but eventually they began to inject themselves into the whole framework of the Association. As a result it was felt necessary to face as a major problem this question of organization and how these groups might be incorporated into the whole scheme of work.

It was at once evident that if the small group were to be made the basic unit in organization and the entire program of the Boys' Division built upon it there would have to be a better understanding of the group itself. Not all of those which had been organized in the past had turned out to be unqualified successes. As a matter of fact, a great many of these groups had not lasted very long. The survey of the New York Y.M.C.A. discovered that sixty per cent of all the clubs of boys in the Association had been in existence for less than one year, that twenty-seven per cent had been in existence for a period between one and two years, and that only thirteen per cent had maintained an existence of three years and over.[1] Was there something about these last mentioned which was different from those in the sixty per cent division? What was it,

[1] Cf. A. L. Swift, Jr., *Survey of New York City Y. M. C. A.* Chap. VII.

after all, that made for the survival of a group? Which of these factors were inherent in the group itself and which were external, or only indirectly related? Which of them could be controlled by the Association?

Not only did certain of the groups conducted by the Association fail to survive, while others continued indefinitely, but certain of them failed to live up to what was expected of them by the secretaries. Some went far toward imbibing the spirit of the Movement, while others were the proverbial privilege users. Some learned attitudes in the "Y" building only to forget them when they came in contact with the people with whom they associated every day. Some of these groups exerted powerful influences for good in the community, while others exerted no influence at all and were never heard of outside the Association building.

What differences then in the make-up of the groups affected the returns in character yielded by the program?

What groups promised the greatest yields in character returns? Did the Hi-Y Club mean more than the Employed Boys Club? Did the gymnasium class build as much character as the school group? What group out of all the complexity of group life both within and without the Association promised to be the best unit with which to work and which promised the greatest returns in character for the effort put into the work?

Chapter II

THE GROUP PRINCIPLE

One of the first principles laid down in the new plan was that the *boy* and not the *program* was to be the starting point of the work. It was felt that so long as a certain kind of program was held to be indispensable just so long would the Association be held back from vitally aiding boys to make adjustment to and live richly in this modern changing civilization. It was the boy and his welfare that should be of concern and not the perpetuating of any particular kind of program.

Hence it was necessary to know something about the lives of boys; to know something about the laws of association; to understand how men and boys behave in situations where they come in contact with one another. The first step was a recognition of the law that no man lives unto himself; he is a part of all that he has met. An individual is always thought of in relation to some specific group: Mr. Jones, a member of the Board, Mr. Smith, of the Rotary Club, Jack Brown on the football team, or Bill Henry, the president of the Hi-Y Club. One's happiness in life depends very largely upon his having pleasant relations with his fellows. There is no such thing, strictly speaking, as a separate individual. He, the individual, is a reality, but he is a social indi-

vidual. He is, as it were, the point of focus of the various forces of group life playing upon him. He is the creation of the reciprocal interplay and interaction of the group. He is the group-unit, the social individual. His relations to the world are to be found through his group; they (the groups) are the vital factors affecting his life. The group is as truly a reality as is the individual.

"A" is a member of an unorganized group of farmers who live near each other. Every Sunday morning for an hour before the church service this group meets in an informal session, the members sitting on their heels in a small circle exchanging ideas, sharing experiences, etc. "A" has a certain idea regarding the solution of the agricultural question which at that moment is occupying the attention of the political leaders of the country; "B" has a slightly different idea; "C" has none at all. Through a discussion of the question "A" is led to modify his idea slightly, incorporating something of B's; "C" becomes interested, begins to take part in the discussion and suggests something that has not been mentioned before. The resultant ideas and attitudes which each farmer takes away from the meeting represent not a composite of all the ideas presented, but a composite of these ideas plus his reaction to the expressed or implied reactions of all the others in the group. His own idea of agricultural relief is a product of the interaction of the group.

Similarly, everywhere men and boys are molding their ideas, their attitudes, their motives, and purposes from the interaction of groups that deal with many significant phases of life.

A Board of Directors' meeting may serve also to illustrate the group principle. Suppose the object of the meeting be to work out a plan of action or policy representing the best thinking of the entire Board. We do not wish merely to have Mr. Jones give his idea concerning the year's program. If this were the case it would be much easier for Mr. Jones to dictate to his stenographer what he thinks about the matter and send it to the general secretary. Nor is the purpose to inform Mr. Jones of the year's program. A meeting would not be necessary for that. What is desired is that Mr. Jones be present to give his ideas where they may be commented upon and modified as they stimulate new and different ideas in the minds of other Board members, until the final plan of action is an intermingling of all the ideas, and constitutes a group idea.

Of course, there are many Board meetings which do not work in the manner mentioned above. In one the secretary may outline his program and call for the approval of the Board members. He sells them his ideas. In the vernacular, they are a bunch of "yes" men. Or there may be a difference between two factions of the group. The dispute is settled by taking a vote. The majority decision is never a really democratic decision and the majority idea is not a group idea.

For the Young Men's Christian Associations to deal with men and boys purely as individuals entirely apart from their social settings is to deal with abstractions. Individuals cannot be separated; the fringes of each man's personality overlap with those of many others. Man is truly a social animal. Individuality cannot be

construed without reference to human interrelatedness.

Does this mean then that social action is mass conduct? Is a gymnasium class which contains fifty boys necessarily a socializing force? Not at all. The group principle at work disengages the individual from the mass, creates a respect for every other individual, and a reciprocal respect of the individual for his group and the group for him, and a respect of one group for another.

The group principle at work in the gymnasium causes play to grow from unorganized, planless, free play into cooperative, well-planned games. It involves making and observing rules which multiply the regard for other individuals. It involves a choice of what is wholesome, what is fun, what is best for all.

The intimate functioning group, more than any other association or other force in life, acts as a socializing influence upon the native desires and impulses of the individual. "If the basic impulses were permitted to dominate human behavior without any guidance or training or restriction, organized society such as we now have it would be impossible." [1] Every association, whether it be with people of one's own intimate group or with comparative strangers, acts as an educator of the native impulses with which men are endowed. The process begins immediately after birth when the desire for food begins to be gratified according to schedule instead of according to the volume of crying. It is continued daily as the native reflexes that have to do

[1] Groves, Ernest R. *Personality and Social Adjustment,* Quoted in *Christian Citizenship,* March, 1928.

with manipulation, defecation, voiding of urine, crying, smiling, and hundreds of other responses are conditioned by the adults who have control of the child. It is continued as the native tendencies which have to do with food getting, sex, self-preservation, and whatever other tendencies may exist, are conditioned, changed, and made over into desirable conduct patterns by one's associates.

It is here that the group, and particularly the intimate, face-to-face group, operates in molding the lives of its members. Each member feels the presence of the group from every quarter, and only as he yields to this pressure and recognizes the authority of the group is he tolerated. Thus his native equipment, his impulses, his inherited desires and tendencies, his instincts, begin to be whipped into line so that the individual's behavior may be in keeping with the group policy.

Psychologists, although differing widely as to the exact nature and classification of one's original nature, are pretty largely in agreement on this one proposition: man's impulses must be schooled, educated, redirected, rather than given free rein. However, it is not within the province of the psychologist to decide this. Whether we like it or not man's associations demand that he act in a way pleasing to the group. Man's native equipment is not all perfect, but possesses within itself the power to reshape itself, and consequently in his contact with the group man is constantly having his impulses and basic desires schooled and educated for happier and more efficient living within the group.

This process of socializing the individual, however, is

not one that the individual constantly resents. It is not as though the group were some outside police force exercising a certain authority, compelling a certain conformity on the part of the members of the group. Group life is a necessity in our modern civilization. It is at times a perfectly unconscious, spontaneous growth of our functioning selves. At other times it is a deliberate, carefully planned, and sought-after phase of life. In either instance it must provide for the expression of the individual in ways that conform to social needs.

We are simply saying that people live in association, that they behave in response to many social stimuli, that they group themselves for the attainment of various ends. The Young Men's Christian Associations must take into account in their program this collective life. It may help secretaries and interested laymen in their attempts to establish groups to know what it is that holds men together in functioning groups, to know what it is that causes men to have feelings of belonging to certain groups. With this knowledge we may select groups that have their life built upon solid foundations, or we may build groups that shall be enduring in their effects upon the lives of their members.

Sociologists are not agreed exactly as to the specific band of cohesiveness which draws people together. One of the schools of sociology contends that a "consciousness of kind" [1] groups people, that a feeling of kindred spirit draws one to another. Yet another contends that the "core of the social process is not likeness; but

[1] See Giddings, F. H. The *Principles of Sociology, Studies in the Theory of Human Society,* and *Descriptive and Historical Sociology,* pp. 304-312.

the harmonizing of difference through interpenetration." [1]

Still another social psychologist [2] suggests that it is the pursuit of a common, vital interest that forms the basis of grouping. An interest in the marketing of tobacco may cause to spring up and serve to hold together a hundred "tobacco cooperatives."

A fourth suggestion as to the basis of grouping, or of intentional membership in a group, is to be found in the idea of the satisfaction of wishes. Thomas [3] gives four wishes as social forces:

The wish for "new experience"
The wish for "security"
The wish for "personal recognition" or personal response
The wish for "public recognition" or dominance.

When authorities differ, the Y.M.C.A. secretary would better try to select something from all. Usually they all are right but have simply approached the mountain from different directions and are describing the scenery as they see it. Experience has shown that groups within the Association composed of individuals widely removed from one another in interests, in factors of likeness, and similarity of background have difficulty in enduring. However, a group of people who act alike, think alike, and look alike, present so little real stimulation to one another that the group is handicapped. Surely the sharing of vital interests adds

[1] See Follett, M. P., *The New State,* for a development of this idea.
[2] See Lindeman, E. C., *Social Discovery.*
[3] Thomas, W. I., *The Unadjusted Girl,* pp. 1-40.

to the cohesiveness of a group. Dewey had set as the criterion for the worthwhileness of an association, the number, variety, and degree of shared interests.[1] A study of the wishes which are predominantly satisfied in any group will yield to the secretary a further understanding of the foundation upon which to build enduring and worth while groups of men and boys.

Emerging from this consideration of the group principle and the experience to date in adapting it to the use of the Young Men's Christian Associations is the following principle: *The Associations to deal with men and boys effectively must deal with them not as abstract individuals but within their social setting.* The emphasis shall not be the *individual,* nor shall it be the *group;* rather the emphasis and the focus of effort shall be the *individual in his group.* That Association secretaries have given intellectual assent to the thesis that man lives in a social setting and that they must consider this when dealing with him is undoubtedly true. That they have not habitually and effectively taken this into account is evident to any one who takes the trouble to study the form of organization of the average local Young Men's Christian Association.

It is this problem that is dealt with in the succeeding chapters. One must keep in mind as he goes along the whole trend toward work with the small group. Secretaries are using groups every day and need to examine them to discover their meanings. One must remember that people live and move in groups in obedience to certain laws of human behavior, and that if he is to deal effectively with individuals he must deal with them

[1] Dewey, John, *Democracy and Education.*

as members of groups rather than as abstract individuals. It must not be overlooked, however, that the individual is real; he is a self growing toward maturity, changing himself as he changes and improves his world about him.

Chapter III

PRESENT PRACTICES OF GROUPING

The terms groups, groupings, natural groups, vital interest groups, compelling interest groups, clubs and other terms have been used rather freely during the past few years without, as a rule, drawing any distinction between the various sorts of associations they sought to interpret. A Stamp Club and a Thursday Night Supper Club were both clubs, although the first represented a pursuit of a clearly defined aim and interest and included usually from six to a dozen boys, while the latter usually brought together fifty to a hundred people with only a vague sort of notion as to what the club existed for beyond the enjoyment of the supper itself.

A secretary once spoke of having his entire department organized on a group basis! What he had done was arbitrarily to divide the entire membership up into a certain number of divisions with a given number of boys in each division. The boys themselves had had little to do with the dividing but were allocated to certain clubs by the secretary. He had attempted to keep the clubs as nearly equal as possible for the purpose of gymnasium competition. Another secretary also speaking of his department as being organized on the group basis had in mind a larger number of play groups from the neighborhood that had come into the building and

affiliated themselves with the Association. Obviously the two secretaries were speaking of two almost entirely different procedures.

A physical director and a boys' work secretary were invited to appear before a State Physical Directors' Society to discuss "The Club Plan of Organization." The physical director discussed handball clubs, basketball clubs, swimming clubs, and other clubs of the same kind—clubs organized around a particular interest in some form of physical work. The boys' work secretary discussed clubs that carried on many activities, from discussing present day social and economic problems to conducting raffles to buy basketball suits for their team. Again, the word club was being used to designate two rather widely different sorts of associations.

It would help in the many discussions that are being carried on in informal and official conferences of secretaries, by means of correspondence and in other ways circulating among leaders of the Association, if someone would help clarify our meanings in the various uses of these terms, and give us a terminology that would say what we mean.

However, still using the word group in a general sort of way, let us examine some of those that are now found within the Association, in order that we may better understand this growing method of work.

An examination of these groups will give opportunity to ask, among others, the following questions:

What interest or interests does the group consciously seek? How significant for the good life are these interests?

What factors of similarity are there in the group? What common denominators other than the pursuit of common interests are there? Do they come from similar homes? Are they of approximately the same mental and chronological ages? How strong a feeling of "consciousness of kind" is there?

What dominant wishes does the group satisfy for its members? Is the fellow at home in the group? Does he have a chance for full expression of himself?

What factors of difference are found within the group? Are the members so nearly alike in their interests, backgrounds, and problems, that a program would lack sufficient stimulation?

Without attempting any classification of the types of groups used in the Associations, let us examine some of the various groups that are used more or less extensively among the Associations.

Probably one of the best known and most successful of the groups in general use is the Hi-Y club. Beginning with the Chapman, Kansas, High School Young Men's Christian Association in the year 1889 [1] the high school club, known since 1911 as the Hi-Y club, has constantly grown until there are now over 4,600 clubs with a total membership of something like 115,000 high school boys.

The eminent success of this group from the standpoint of its tenure of life, as well as the feeling that it expresses the movement spirit of the Associations as well as any other single group, has led to some attempts in recent years to organize other groups along the same

[1] There was an association for high school boys and girls in Ionia, Mich., in 1870, but it endured only two or three years.

lines. It has become, as it were, the open sesame to the group question. In a recent meeting of leaders in the field of boys' work together with some representatives from other fields, quite a bit of discussion hinged around this problem of creating other groups that would work as the Hi-Y works.

It seems to the writer that there has been a good bit of wishful thinking done in this respect. It has been assumed that if we could create groups of other people in the same ways in which we have created Hi-Y groups, and challenge them with something of the same kind of program, we could therefore expect similar results.

The Hi-Y is entirely different from any other group in the Association, and is more highly selected than any other. By selectiveness we mean that there are more requirements for admission into the Hi-Y group than are to be found in any other group in the Association.

Speaking generally and taking into consideration a large number of high school groups in many localities we may say that the following are among the requirements for membership in the Hi-Y:

1. A member must be a regularly enrolled member of the high school. (In a great many instances one must be a member of one of the two upper classes.)
2. He must have sufficient intelligence to succeed or remain in high school in order to be a member of Hi-Y. The Hi-Y group, then, is above the average in intelligence.
3. One must have achieved a certain amount of success and manifested a certain amont of interest in scholastic studies, otherwise he would not have reached his present grade in school.
4. One must, in order to be an active member of the

Hi-Y, have some interest in and knowledge of the work of the Y.M.C.A. movement over the world.

5. One must have a desire to be of service in his school and community.

6. He must have a sympathetic attitude toward organized religion or at least toward the principles and basic attitudes of Jesus.

7. He is approximately between 15 and 19 years of age.

8. One usually knows rather intimately all the members of the group, due to the fact that they all go to the same school and are in many of the classes together.

9. In order to attend high school one usually has to belong to the upper levels of the economic as well as the cultural scales. Those at the lower ends of the scales are often shunted by the wishes of their parents, by crowded schools, or by their own desires, into vocational or trade schools, or into business. The Hi-Y member then is usually above the average boy of his age economically and socially, which is another selective factor operating in Hi-Y clubs. This factor will not be found operating so efficiently in Gra-Y clubs, in Y'S Men's clubs, or in special interest groups.

10. The entire group has been recruited around a central, dynamic, serious purpose.

To sum up the factors that differentiate the Hi-Y group from other groups we may say that it is a very highly selective group, possessing many factors that are not common to other groups. It is a highly intelligent group, educated above the average, with similar home backgrounds, grouped around a common serious purpose. Hi-Y also affords for some a social prestige and a sense of security rarely found in an Association group.

Various forms of organization and many kinds of activities characterize the present status of the Hi-Y

movement in this country. In a great many places the Hi-Y club is largely a loosely knit association of high school fellows who meet regularly for supper and listen to speakers. These speakers, as a rule, deal with generalized virtues and elements of personal goodness. Occasionally there will be speakers on the world work of the Y.M.C.A., or on specific vocations in life. Again, there will be college athletes or noted politicians of the town.

In this kind of grouping undoubtedly the fellowship serves as one of the dominant motives in bringing the group together and keeping it alive. Other factors such as prestige in the school, opportunity to get away from home for an evening, and many others probably enter in. The stated purpose of the club is probably not so powerful a factor and most likely does not represent an interest that is shared to any vital degree.

There are other large groups in the Hi-Y movement that divide themselves into chapters. These chapters are small enough to function in a more intimate way, and can deal with questions that more nearly represent vital interests of the fellows than can the larger group. Sometimes the fellowship motive is not quite so strong here unless the chapters happen to be very carefully formed by students who live rather close together in the high school life. In schools where there are fraternities these chapters of vital groups would probably duplicate the fraternity division lines of the schools.

In other places the Hi-Y club is a very small group, often not over a dozen in number, who have banded themselves together for the specific purpose of improving conditions in the school. It seems fair to

say that this kind of Hi-Y club is not so frequently found today as it was ten years ago. Either fellows do not readily group themselves about a "reform" objective, or else secretaries have been dissatisfied with the small numbers of boys reached in this manner and have resorted to more popular appeals.

Still another type of club is found in certain schools where the Hi-Y club has become an informal and unofficial "Congress of School Clubs." This type of club sets out definitely to get representatives of the various groups of the school life—fraternity groups, athletic teams, staffs of publications, student councils, etc.—to band together for a consideration of problems that affect the general life of the school, expecting that these representatives will go back into their various groups to report findings.

One group of this type concerned about the tremendous amount of time and energy devoted by high school and college fellows to athletics asked the question, "What after all is the value of athletics?" A thoroughgoing discussion opened up the problem, estimates were obtained of the amount of time devoted by the fellows in the school to the pursuit of athletics, the advantages and the disadvantages were listed and evaluated, and finally they asked two speakers to come in and handle the question. One speaker, an athlete, dealt with the question from the viewpoint of an athlete; the other, a member of the school faculty, dealt with the question from the viewpoint of the school's attempting to provide a rounded experience for the students.

Having completed the discussion of the question, the group next turned to the task of disseminating the in-

formation they had gathered and of stimulating the sort of thinking they had been doing. A mimeographed pamphlet containing summaries of the findings was circulated among the students of the school. The representatives of the various groups mentioned above began at once to call the attention of the members of their own groups to these pamphlets. Discussions similar to those that had taken place in the Hi-Y meetings were carried on in fraternity meetings, in informal conversation in the locker room, and in the lunch room of the school.

Right away certain people are inclined to ask these questions: "What happened as a result of it?" "What changes in behaviour were observable?" "Where there were changes were these due to the Hi-Y project?" The answer is, "We don't know." But this much is certain: where people take the time, open-mindedly and intelligently to discuss the values of life, we may usually expect more integrated personalities, more poised and balanced action in life. There would be reason to suppose that to a certain extent this was true of the project here described.

One of the earliest groups recorded in Association history was what has come to be known in recent years as the work group. In 1865 the St. Louis Association opened a Newsboys' Branch in a blacksmith shop. Cleveland, Chicago, Montreal, and Baltimore followed with organizations of boys around the interest of selling newspapers.

Of course there are many significant factors to be taken into consideration when discussing a newsboys'

club other than the mere fact that they all sell newspapers. This in and of itself probably would not prove a very strong rallying force for a group of boys. A high school boy living in one of the best residential sections of the suburbs and handling a short afternoon paper route to provide himself with extra spare change would probably not find a great deal of interest in a "newsboys' club." However, the fact that a boy is a newsboy very often means that he lives in a given section of the town (in case of small cities), comes from a home that is often near or below the poverty line, and has an acquaintance with the streets that makes him mature and sophisticated for his age.

In 1880, Miss Ellen Brown, in Buffalo, utilized the work group to teach the Bible. There had been Bible classes before, but Miss Brown's effort recognized that even in the teaching of the Bible a certain kind of group was more likely to promise success than another.

The significance of the work group was recognized officially in 1913 with the founding of the Employed Boys Brotherhood which provided for national and state affiliations of groups of working boys.

The recognition that boys who are victims for one reason or another of family disorganization and spend most of their spare time on the streets have interests in common resulted in the establishment in 1869 of the Salem Fraternity in Salem, Mass. This was the first of the street boys' clubs.

Other early groupings established in the Associations were literary societies, educational classes, and gymnasium classes. These, of course, like the Bible

classes, depended very largely upon the content of the subject matter and the personality of their leaders to hold their members.

There seems to have been a dearth of groups among young men 18 to 21 years of age. In 1918 they were spoken of as the "ungrasped and undeveloped opportunity." There are, however, a number of groups organized and functioning in Young Men's Divisions in many Associations. The Y's men's clubs are the best known of this type. Usually such groups draw together young men who are interested in the friendships and fellowships that they find within its ranks. More often than not these young men are away from home, away from school groups and work groups that vitally affect their lives, and find in the group of young men some compensation for the lack of intimate face-to-face associations.

A very common form of organization both for the 18 to 21-year level as well as for older men is the special interest club. Handball clubs, basketball clubs, swimming, life saving, boxing, and volley ball clubs are the ones most frequently utilized.

In the Boys' Divisions there have been quite a variety of practices in grouping. While the gymnasium class has been the unit of organization in the Physical Department, the club has represented the unit of organization in the Boys' Department. These clubs are sometimes neighborhood gangs, more often age and school groups. Sometimes they are built around hobbies or other special interests; often they carry on several kinds of activities. This type of organization along with the classes in the Physical Department really represents a

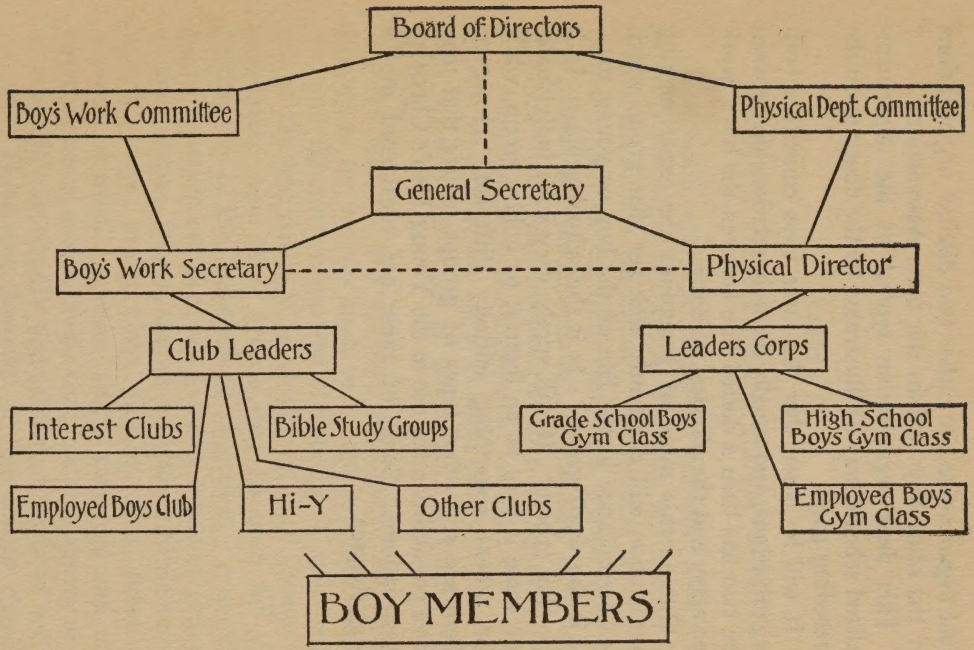
Board of Directors
Boy's Work Committee
Physical Dept. Committee
General Secretary
Boy's Work Secretary
Physical Director
Club Leaders
Leaders Corps
Interest Clubs
Bible Study Groups
Grade School Boys Gym Class
High School Boys Gym Class
Employed Boys Club
Hi-Y
Other Clubs
Employed Boys Gym Class
BOY MEMBERS

DIAGRAM 1

dual organization, or rather two distinct organizations of the same boys within the same Association.

This dual organization typical of the departmentalized scheme may be illustrated by the diagram on the preceding page.

It will be noted that the same boys constitute both organizations, and usually the only relationship between the two has been a dotted line between the boys' work secretary and the physical director.

Out of this maze of groupings the experimenting Association will constantly seek for that group which has significance in the life of the boy or young man. Is it the work group? Is it the school group? Is it the play group? It will surely vary with individuals; for some it may be an interest or hobby group, while for others something entirely different. However, there are still other types of groups in life that may have possibilities for use in the Young Men's Christian Associations. Some of these are considered in the next chapter.

Chapter IV

GROUPS WITHIN THE COMMUNITY

Association technique in general has not taken into account the organized group life that is often to be found within the community. Secretaries have proceeded largely on the basis that these groups offer no opportunity for the Association, or else they have been ignorant of the vital influence of these groupings. Before attempting to make suggestions for the use of these groups let us examine some of them briefly to see how they differ from types of association previously described.

Some sort of enumeration, description, and comparison of the various kinds of groups in which people live and function in modern civilization is manifestly one of the first things to be considered in an attempt to understand how these groups may be used for the furtherance of the Associations' objectives. A merely casual observer can discover so many kinds of groups —labor unions, lodges, church societies, athletic clubs, school groups, bridge clubs, singing clubs, debating societies, dramatic societies, and a thousand and one other forms of associations—that it would appear next to impossible to classify these different kinds of social groups. There are, however, a few simple classifi-

cations and a few dominant kinds of vital-interest groups, so that we can come to understand a little bit of their nature and function.

A word often used to describe certain of these groups is the word *natural.* A natural group is one that has just grown up like a weed without any outside interference, encouragement, or stimulation. The family is a natural group in this sense of the word. *Artificial* groups then would be those groups which, under the influence of some movement, institution, or personality, have been formed and nurtured. Most of the groups previously described would come under this latter heading.

The word *vital-interest* is used by Lindeman [1] to describe groups such as the family, the neighborhood group, and the play group. In this sense it would correspond to the word natural. However Lindeman goes ahead and uses the term *vital interest* to designate such groupings as school groups, work groups, church groups, etc. Obviously some of these are *artificial* groups in the sense we have just used the word, for they depend for their lives upon the nurture of some institution which has deliberately organized the group. There is, of course, no clear-cut distinction between a natural and an artificial group. While the play group, for instance, grows up "like weeds," it is directly a result of the home, school or other institution in life, just as the church group is the result of the work of the church—an institution of the community. It might be argued that one is conscious and deliberate while the other is entirely unconscious and unplanned.

[1] See Lindeman, E. C., *The Community,* Chapter IV.

The terms *voluntary* and *involuntary* have been used to distinguish these two types of groups. Involuntary groups are those into which one is born, such as the family group, the neighborhood group, kinship groups, etc. In contrast to these natural, genetic, involuntary groups, we find purposive groups which are called voluntary groups. The terms "interest groups", "specific interest groups", etc., are often used to designate this type of purposive group. Here would come all of the groups previously described as Y.M.C.A. groups.

A final distinction between groups that the secretary ought to be acquainted with is the distinction between *primary* groups and *secondary* groups. The term primary group is used a great deal by sociologists, especially Cooley [1] and Ellwood.[2] Primary groups are groups which involve more or less intimate, face-to-face associations. They are primary in the sense that out of them have sprung all other forms of association in life. They were the original forms of association and relationship in life, and are the only kinds of associations to be found in animal life below the level of the human. The family group, the neighborhood group, and the play group are the most important primary groups.

Secondary groups on the other hand would include all those forms of association which do not involve direct, personal, intimate relations. Political parties, industrial corporations, religious sects, the Young

[1] See Cooley, *Social Organization,* Chapters III-V; also *Human Nature and the Social Order,* Chapters I, III.

[2] Ellwood, Chas. A., *The Psychology of Human Society,* Chapter IV.

Men's Christian Associations themselves, are all secondary groups.

The Family Group

If we were dealing with two-year-olds in our Associations and were desirous of utilizing primary groups in our organization, it would not be very difficult to locate which group in life is most significant for this age. The family group is the first school of the child. Into it he is born and from it he receives all the early impressions of his life. It is to this group that he has his first sense of belonging and it is of this group he thinks when he first uses the word *we*.

The family at its best is a close, sympathetic, intimate sort of group, bound together by common interests and ideals, by natural affection, and by economic and biological necessities. In the family at its best each individual stands out as a personality of inestimable worth, to be respected as such. Here in the family group the child has his first lessons in love and justice, in community of consciousness or oneness, in social solidarity. Here he builds his foundations of habits and attitudes. The family, at its best, provides those experiences for proper functioning in society at large; at less than its best, it builds habits and attitudes that either have to be unlearned or the individual does not contribute his maximum to society. Family life may develop dependence or it may develop independence; it may develop ever enlarging circles of altruism making for world-mindedness, or it may set the pattern for a constantly narrowing nationalism; it may "spoil the

child" and send him out into the world with an exalted ego, or it may counteract this with the development of sentiments of sympathy, loyalty, and service.

The Neighborhood Group

All of the families within walking distance of one another usually have been thought to constitute the neighborhood group. When the child grows old enough he moves as it were from the intimate circle of the family group out into the neighborhood group, taking his first step in social maturation. He visits his friends near by, he makes comparison of the way Mrs. Jones treats her child with the way he is treated. He observes that his friend's backyard has certain play equipment that his own does not possess. He even has a certain feeling that it is all right to visit at such and such a home whenever he wishes. He is beginning to belong to the neighborhood group.

The neighborhood group of the present day is a less closely knit group than it was a few decades ago. It is, of course, less of a unit than is the family group. In the days previous to the motor car, when traveling from one town to another or from one section of a city to another was something of a hardship, the neighborhood group played a large part in the lives of individuals. It furnished most of the contacts of people, provided outlets for adult play and social intercourse, and made sympathy, friendliness, and mutual understanding necessary. The neighborhood group also cultivated habits of cooperation, discussion, mutual aid, and respect for the freedom and equality of its members.

While many of the functions of the neighborhood group still persist, its character has become slightly altered. No longer do adults necessarily find their best friends among their neighbors. Usually they go many miles to find those with whom they share life at its fullest. The automobile has enlarged the neighborhood group until it takes in families for miles around and leaves out some next door. While this is particularly true of the adult, it is not nearly so true of the child, whose experiences are still more or less confined to those families within his own walking distance.

Let us not infer that the contribution of the neighborhood group is passing away. Rather it is enlarging; we are making the world a neighborhood. Not only do we recognize the right of the family within the block to political and social equality, but by extending the habits of discussion and interchange of public opinion through the medium of the press, forums, and organized government, and in recent days through the League of Nations to the nations of the world, we find the neighborhood group setting the pattern for a world civilization.

It is sufficient here for us to be aware that each member of the Young Men's Christian Association is or should be a participating member of a neighborhood group. The meaning of the Association group in which he participates ought to find its way into the life of the neighborhood and vice versa.

The Association also has a definite job of extending the neighborhood group pattern to include all the peoples of the world.

The Association and the Play Group

The primary group which possesses probably the most significance for the Young Men's Christian Associations is the play group. For those Associations which are earnest in their attempts to capitalize the significance of the small group this form of association in life—the play group—not only offers a group already organized which the leader may take hold of and begin to work with immediately, but it also suggests a pattern for work with young men.

As the child grows out of the family group into the neighborhood group, so he grows from the neighborhood group into the play group. This group represents for the individual his first experience with equals. Here with fellows of his own age and with approximately his own abilities the child gets his first lessons in conscious team play. Lindeman [1] has said that with the doubtful influence of heredity there is no force in an individual's life more potent or significant than the play group. With the decrease in the size of the family, causing a child much earlier in life to seek playmates other than his brothers and sisters, and with the decline of the neighborhood group, the significance of the play group is today more vital than ever before.

There have been attempts on the part of psychologists and philosophers to explain play. That play has persisted in spite of religious denunciations by early Puritans, that it is still a major part of the life of individuals in a machine age, that we are constantly making provision for it, indicate that the spirit of and the desire for play are deeply rooted in human nature.

[1] *Op. Cit.*, Chapter IV.

Not only does it provide for the physical and health development of the child, but it contributes no little to his social life. Recreation and release from the routine of drudgery is found by the adult in play.

It is interesting to note, however, that play groups of children do a great deal more than simply play. Play, in and of itself, contributes materially to our social ideals by training in team play, cooperation, fair play, and recreation. But play groups contribute a great deal more to life than is to be found in play. The members of these groups somehow or other find time to share their thoughts and ideals with one another. Attitudes toward sex, toward home, toward parents, toward vocations, all are partly built up by the play group. One has only to share the confidence of a play group to realize the truth of this. Many of the significant behavior patterns of adolescents are products of play group life. However, without leadership or without intelligent supervision it is quite possible for these play groups to do harm as well as good. Instead of developing proper attitudes toward sex, for instance, it is possible through the pooling of ignorance to develop in children very anti-social attitudes toward this important phase of life. If one is permitted to carry to its logical conclusions the attitude implied in the term, "the old man," father and son relations may not be decidedly helped by the life of the play group. As play is an end in itself and not done for the sake of other forms of activity, play groups may become increasingly narrow rather than constantly enlarging. If play groups find antagonism from adults or other play groups they may de-

velop into predatory gangs and lead into serious delinquency and crime.

The chief values the play group contributes to life are to be found in social control and response to public opinion, in the development of cooperation and team play, in recreation and social pleasure, and, finally, in the sense of security that comes to one who has the feeling of belonging to a group of his peers and finding there a place to share the deepest in life and a focus of his most profound sense of loyalty. These, it would seem, are essential elements in our culture, and with the increase of wealth and leisure time ought to be increasingly important, not only for children and adolescents, but for adults as well, to whom the patterns of the play group life might well become the general patterns for social life.

There are seemingly two or three implications in the study of play groups for the Associations. In the first place, the importance of these groups ought to be recognized by all people doing work with boys. Occasionally we find a boy who does not seem to fit in with his fellows. He seems to have little or no play group relation. Either he is a sissy because his home or school have not in earlier life devoted sufficient attention to the cultivation of game skills held in such high esteem by most play groups, or some other deficiency in his home life has prevented his participation in play group life. He has nothing to which he has a real sense of belonging. He has no fellows with whom he can share those things which seem so important to the child. With these children the Association has a real job in

helping them to discover playmates with whom they are able to share life.

Henry was just such a chap, discovered by the visiting teacher and referred to the local Association, At eleven years of age he had no friends he could really call his own. Having been compelled by his parents to attend a school of religious instruction in the afternoons for several years he had had no opportunity to learn and develop the simple elements of game skills such as throwing a ball, running, dodging, climbing, etc., which are essential requirements for membership in a group of boys. In addition, a slight impediment of speech had helped to make him the object of ridicule by his schoolmates, until Henry had become very unhappy. Placed in a group of fellows under the wise direction of a leader who elicited sympathy, understanding, and cooperation from his clubmates, he immediately showed marked improvement in many ways, including his school studies. His parents were persuaded to discontinue his religious school for a short time to make this play group contact possible.

With those who are already members of groups, secretaries ought to deal very carefully. Shifting one's loyalties is a dangerous business. We do not shift a boy from his home group to a foster home without careful thought; shifting from one play group to another may also be fraught with many dangers. The experience of settlement houses and certain other agencies in working with these groups and maintaining them intact has many suggestions for the Association.

In the second place, it may be necessary for the Associations to reach down much earlier into the lives of

boys in order to provide the right sort of leadership for these play groups from their very beginning lest they find the job of reconditioning already established attitudes too great.

Finally, secretaries of the Associations, who have responsibility for work with young men, will find in these play groups patterns for the organization of groups of young men. The origin of many of the social patterns which we have set as goals of social development may be discovered in the form and organization of these primary groups, the family, the neighborhood and the play group. With a thorough understanding of how these groups affect behavior we begin to understand the whole development of human society.

School, Church, and Work Groups

To what extent school, church, or work groups are primary will depend to what extent these groups involve intimate face-to-face associations. In a great many instances the contacts in these groups are quite superficial, while in other cases they are considerably more intimate. School groups occasionally offer excellent opportunities for organization. Hi-Y clubs and Gra-Y clubs have often been unusually successful. Previously attention has been called to the various types of Hi-Y groups—the small homogeneous group, the large popular kind, the "congress of clubs" type. It might be well to direct attention here to the fact that the kinds of group life experienced by students in the school and the community probably have had a great deal to do with the success or failure of a certain kind of Hi-Y, or Gra-Y, or Girl Reserve club. There is a group of

girls known to the author which meets weekly under the supervision of an agency in a community. This group has been rather successful in maintaining a large constant membership and in carrying on a rich program. It so happens that in the high school which these girls attend sororities play a very important part in the social life of the school. None of these girls is a member of a sorority. Another group of colored girls find the Girl Reserve Club of the Y.W.C.A. very stimulating and helpful because, according to the secretary, they do not feel at home participating in the extra curricular activities of the school.

Church groups, in spite of their artificiality, in spite of the fact that they cut across the bonds of community life, of play group, of school group, of neighborhood group, have been rather effective in influencing the behavior patterns of people. With the wane of ecclesiastical authority it may be that this influence will gradually diminish. Some churches are making efforts to work with existing primary groups rather than building up their own artificial groups.

Work groups, where the contacts have been of the face-to-face type, have been very influential in human behavior. With the growth of labor unions and occupational groups the work group has taken on added significance. Work groups in the Association, Messenger Clubs, Areb Clubs, Employed Boys' Brotherhoods, Policemen's or Firemen's Groups, General Electric Apprentices, and other groups of this kind—have usually been successful to the extent that these groups demanded the first loyalties of their members, to the extent that they involved intimate face-to-face contacts

during the work day, and to the extent these factors were recognized by the secretary and leader in charge.

It would seem then that the Associations ought to use as their units of organization those groups in life which involve their members in personal, intimate, face-to-face contacts, not only while they are at the Association building, but while they carry on their daily tasks at home, school, play, or work. That group which shares deeply two interests in life ought to offer more possibilities to the Association than does the group which shares only one interest. That group which satisfies the wishes of its members more fully than another would offer more possibilities to the Association. In other words, that group would offer most to the Association which involved the greatest amount of intimate face-to-face contacts; which represented the greatest number of significant interests shared by its members.

We then come to our second principle of organization: *The Young Men's Christian Association may most vitally influence an individual's life by dealing with the group in which he most vitally lives.*

Let us consider how these groups may be discovered and be given right of way in our programs.

Chapter V

THE PROBLEM OF ORGANIZING THE ASSOCIATION

In the preceding chapters the dissatisfactions with the departmental scheme of organization for work with boys were discussed and consideration given to the operation of the group principle in various situations. The reasons why people group themselves together were examined and the nature of some of these groups briefly studied. This was all by way of introduction to the central problem faced by the Association which wished to organize its work and set up its program in a way that might capitalize this knowledge of the way people behave in association and might utilize to the fullest the growing trend toward the use of the small group.

Here was an Association, a going concern, desiring to change its organization from a mass and departmental basis to a small deliberative group basis. One can readily see that such a change could not come about overnight. It is not easy to translate a program of stunts and set-up activities into an educational procedure. As someone said, it was like having to build a new bridge across a stream, but having to build it with-

out interrupting the flow of traffic or, at least, without seriously delaying it.

How did this Association go about the task? What were some of the problems faced? And what has been learned from its experience that might be called conclusions or, at least, principles of group work?

Nearly a year before the actual change in organization took place, the boys' work secretary selected two groups of boys—play groups—which had a large percentage of their members enrolled in the Association. He thought these groups to be typical of the groups they would work with under the new scheme of organization. One gymnasium period a week for each group was arranged for, in addition to the two class periods that they were privileged to attend. The secretary himself assumed the leadership of the two groups in an experimental and demonstration program. Later in the season, the two groups were taken over by two young college men, who represented the type of leadership the Association expected to secure under its group plan of organization.

The results with these two groups were sufficiently satisfying at the end of the year to warrant a consideration of some scheme whereby groups of this sort might be given right of way in the program.

An incident of purely local significance had just occurred making such consideration rather pointed at that time. There had been up until this time an associate boys' work secretary. His desire to make a change of position gave opportunity to consider the question whether or not he might be replaced by paid leaders rather than by another single full-time man.

Two representatives of the National Council, one from the Boys' Division staff, and one from the Physical Department staff, were called in to meet with the boys' work secretary, the physical directors, the general secretary, and the associate general secretary. Several long conferences were held in an attempt to foresee all of the difficulties as well as the advantages that might accrue from a group plan of organization. It is difficult to describe what plan, if any, emerged from these conferences. Whatever it was it began to be changed the minute it was put into operation, and that process of change has been going on ever since. The splendid experience, irritating at times but always stimulating, of sharing in the search for the best way to do the job, has been one of the finest cooperative bits of work this Association has known. The fact that the general secretary, the physical director, and the boys' work secretary all shared in it from the beginning means that cooperation in the carrying out of the project has been a significant part of the whole enterprise.

A beginning was made with the following guiding principles staked out:

The Association should discover, relate leadership to, and give right of way in its program to groups in which boys vitally lived.

These leaders were to be paid, part-time employees of the Association.

Gymnasium classes were to be replaced in the physical department by clubs under their own leaders.

The physical director who had heretofore handled the boys' physical work should give an equivalent amount of time to the supervision of these clubs, sharing this task with the boys' work secretary.

A group was to be maintained for boys who were not members of vital-interest groups, with the understanding that there should be a persistent effort to relate the members of this group to some more intimate, vital group.

No changes were made in budgets, in membership fees or requirements, or in personnel (with the exception of the associate boys' work secretary, who at that time had already taken up his new duties).

Evidently the first step was to discover some of these groups which commanded the loyalties of boys, which represented centers of shared interests. Men and boys function in life through various types of groupings. The same individual may at one and the same time have a relationship to his family group, to his church group, to his work group, and to a social or fraternity group. That these groups do not have equal significance in his life is obvious to anyone. How then may we discover what group commands the boy's greatest loyalty, with which he shares the deepest things of life, in which he most vitally lives? How can we know them when we encounter them? Can they be created? How can they be organized in such a way that they can function within the Association? These were some of the questions that had to be answered and some of the problems to be met.

For the two-year-old it is not very difficult to determine what group influences him most. He gets his moral knowledge, his motives, and his dynamics from the family. As soon, however, as he is able to visit neighbors, to make comparisons of one home with another, to criticize one in the light of another, he begins to assume membership in the neighborhood group. Not

only does his own family enter into the forming of his purposes and motives, but other families take their places as stimuli to which he must react and the interstimulation of the entire neighborhood group is responsible for his behavior patterns at this age.

For the early adolescent in most instances, the play group will represent his most vital interest group. It may be here in the Boys' Division that most local Associations can begin the job of reorganization. Already a significant number of Associations have replaced gymnasium classes with organized play groups under leaders each of whom is responsible for the entire program for his group.

There are various techniques for discovering the many play groups existing within a given community. Surveys are often made which locate hundreds of these in small residential cities. The value to the Association of the information thus obtained is doubtful. That the Association cannot immediately and forthwith proceed to incorporate any large percentage of these groups into its membership is obvious. Such a survey reveals the size of the problem to an agency dealing with play groups in a community.

In the experience of the Association reported here, it has been found more desirable to begin with those already in the membership and discover whether or not they belong to play groups, making provisions for the affiliation of these groups with the Association. Whenever a boy applies for membership in the Boys' Division he is asked about the place of his residence. Sometimes he is asked to point it out on a large map of the city and at the same time point out the parks, vacant lots,

play-grounds, or streets where he usually hangs out. Then he is asked to tell something about the fellows he runs with, and almost immediately the boy is telling all about his play group.

There recently came to the office of the writer a doctor from a hospital in a near-by town who wished his boy to become a member of the Association. According to the parent the boy needed some fellows to play with, but when interviewed the boy disclosed that he was already a member of a well-knit group of playfellows in the vicinity of the hospital, and that the main occupation of this group was to "raise sand" around the hospital. Obviously the desire to join the Association was imposed upon the boy by the parent, who wished to free him from the evil influences of his gang. While the writer sympathizes with the father he is not at all sure that the net result of robbing the boy of his play group and substituting another with which he will come in contact only occasionally in the artificial situation of the Y.M.C.A. building will be for good. Rather the Association ought to try to deal with the entire group so that their standards and purposes shall be raised and that they shall take their places as a functioning group in their own community.

After groups have been formed they are given the privilege of bringing in other groups as their guests for games, thus making contacts for the Association with other groups in the community.

As individuals grow up the task of selecting for each his vital interest group becomes more difficult. In high school the fraternity competes with the school or the class for the first loyalty; a new found freedom makes

all groups less engrossing in their monopoly on loyalty; while a multiplicity of activities and organizations dismembering his sense of loyalty, often leaves him a lonesome individual. There is no more lonesome boy in the world than one without a wholesome group relationship, —he is truly a man without a country. Right here the Y.M.C.A. can offer a group to this young man, such as a Hi-Y or other student group, or a program that helps him to weigh the values of the competing associations and cast his first loyalty where it means most.

For those individuals who do not have a sense of belonging to any group it would seem that the group which would affect him most vitally would be the kind of group that comes to grips with the problems that he faces in many of his relationships of life.

For the sake of illustration let us contrast the procedures of two Associations in the organization of young men eighteen to twenty-five years of age for the purpose of character building. Each Association wished to organize the kinds of groups and carry on the sorts of activities which will appeal to the young man of this age. One Association set about to organize a number of sports clubs—handball club, basketball club, swimming club, fencing club, etc.—with each club having representation on the Departmental Committee, which was given the task of promoting and carrying out these various activities. The second Association formed a group or club of all the young men between the ages of 18 and 21. This group, with a secretary as adviser, included as a part of its program all of the various sports promoted by the sports clubs in the first-mentioned Association, but included them as a *part* of the

program. The difference in the two organizations amounted simply to this: The sports clubs carried on activities directly related to the specific interest at stake such as planning tournaments, levying fees, purchasing medals, awarding them at annual banquets, and a few other similar activities. The "omnibus" club, as it is sometimes called, was not limited to superficial interests of this sort, but was able to carry on a program which included vocational education and guidance, coeducational functions of various sorts, discussions of modern social and economic problems, and excursions into real religion. Does organization make any difference in program? It most assuredly did in this case.

But what happens to the handball club when one of its members becomes interested in basketball also? In the above-mentioned Association each individual in the handball club had one vote in the selection of representatives to the Department Committee. The same was true of the basketball team. It is conceivable in such a situation that if a group of four or five were to conspire and enroll in a sufficient number of specific interest groups or sport clubs their combined votes would be powerful enough to control the policy and program of the entire department. (The Association need not worry about such an eventuality so long as the control remains firmly vested in the secretarial leadership.) The important point here is not whether this or that system of representation, voting, or method of control is best, but whether effective organization can be maintained without taking into account the many interests of each individual member.

When a man or a boy plays basketball, or handball,

or participates in a religious meeting, he does so as an individual—as a total personality. The way he plays basketball is partly determined by his own reaction to other members of the teams whom he may have met elsewhere. His attitude toward the religious meeting is in part a product of his reactions to other religious meetings which he has attended elsewhere. The public school started out to teach certain predetermined subjects. It has advanced so far in the process of taking into account many of the other interests of individuals that we find social case workers on the staffs of schools, attempting to help the school coordinate and integrate these various interests. The Young Men's Christian Association itself started out as a specific interest group dealing with a rather clearly defined and sharply demarcated interest. It does not take a student of Association history to tell that the Association found itself early compelled to recognize certain other interests of individuals and finally to attempt an integration of these interests. What has been true of the school and the Association has equally been true of the other types of organizations; labor unions, tobacco cooperatives, etc. It has been necessary wherever the program of an agency has grown for each specific interest group to recognize the various interests of its members.

Two simple illustrations will show the necessity of this step: The Y Yankees were older boys who went to high school. They came to the Association two nights a week to play basketball. Each evening they came early and played basketball for an hour and swam for an additional thirty minutes. One afternoon by chance the leader of the group discovered the Yankees out

playing football. Through investigation he found that on the very afternoons preceding their periods at the Association they usually spent from two to three hours on the playground engaging in strenuous football games. That they should follow this with another hour's strenuous basketball and then a half hour's swim was at least a dangerous program.

The Blue Eagles were grammar school boys in a large city. Three afternoons a week they went immediately from school to the near-by Young Men's Christian Association for a program of games, apparatus work, swimming, and other vigorous forms of recreation. The secretary of the Association observed that often they were irritable and very early in the afternoon showed signs of fatigue. Irritability was usually handled in the orthodox fashion of meting out two weeks of suspension. However, when "Irish", an obviously undernourished chap, but withal a very congenial disposition, raised his hockey stick high above his head and slammed it to the floor and left the gymnasium in what would be called by a child specialist a temper tantrum, the secretary decided to investigate.

Securing the cooperation of the group, he had them with him work out a schedule of their days' activities. Up at seven in the morning ran the average report, a cup of coffee and a piece of toast for breakfast, with only occasionally a cooked cereal for the exceptional boy, off to school before eight, a hot dog and a soda for lunch, with the rare boy having a glass of milk, a half hour to an hour of handball against the wall of the school building, and out of school at three to come to the Y.M.C.A. for exercise. (There is not one point

of exaggeration in this story, and doubtless many Association classes and groups carry on a program without any more knowledge of the other interests and activities of the lives of their members than was true in this case.)

We then have another principle upon which to proceed: *Each group, whether dealing with a single specific interest such as handball, or whether dealing with a range of interests, must take into account the other interests and activities of its members and plan its program accordingly.* Not only must the activities and interests be known, but groups must be helped to evaluate and integrate conflicting interests. In the case of the Blue Eagles a hot meal and a rest hour would have been much more beneficial than a long play period. At least, quieter forms of play should have been substituted for the more strenuous forms.

What group offers the best medium for the integration of these various interests of members? Again the answer seems to point to the group in which an individual can share a great many significant interests of life rather than a sharply defined and definitely limited one.

The task of helping young men and boys to integrate their various interests is becoming an increasingly important one in our modern life. If Christianity is to mean much in one's life it must mean integration. We have hundreds of examples every day of the man who is living what might be termed a Christian life in one sphere and a distinctly different kind of life in another sphere. We often speak of the man who hangs his religion on the door knob of the church when he leaves

on Sunday morning that he may find it there when he returns the following Sunday. We speak of a man of integrity, one whose character is unsullied whatever be the sphere of life in which we know him. Integration, in addition to being the essential characteristic of the normal mind,[1] is also an essential characteristic of religion. It is a placing of the values of life in their proper order. It is a constructing of standards and purposes. It is a process of revaluation which is essentially worship. It is the working of chords of music into a symphony.

There are those who claim that this process of orientation and integration is the major objective of the Association. If this be true certainly the problem of grouping is pregnant with meaning; for we must discover what type of group facilitates integration and what type does not.

How shall we go about this process of organizing the local Association so that we shall be able to make use of these groups which influence men's lives, which furnish mediums for the integration of life? In the Boys' Divisions the process will be comparatively simple. For boys of the Pioneer age (12, 13, and 14) and younger the replacement of gymnasium classes with play groups and gangs of boys under their own leaders, while a radical step is not particularly difficult. In the work of settlement houses and some Associations we have a great deal of experience from which to draw.

A word of warning, however, is in order here. The seeming simplicity of the move will often lead secretaries to take steps that other members of the staff, and

[1] Burnham, Wm. H., *The Normal Mind,* p. 27ff.

particularly lay members of committees, are not at all prepared to take. The Association which has furnished the major portion of the experimental data upon which this study is based spent two years in study and preparation before setting up a tentative plan upon which to work. This plan is being changed from month to month under the close study of the members of the staff and committees. Hours of conference with experts from the National Council and elsewhere, together with an entire year's tryout with two groups, preceded the transformation of the Boys' Division from the traditional organization of gymnasium classes and hobby clubs into a group of boys' clubs. Even then the Association found itself almost swamped in its first year of operation under the new plan.

In the Young Men's and Men's Divisions the task is evidently going to be considerably harder. The answer in most places seems to be the use of the special interest group—the athletic or sport club, the religious group, or the dramatic group. Where this is the type of organization planned, it is highly important that interests higher up the scale than the "sports" interest be utilized wherever possible. Groups dealing with such problems as sex adjustment, vocational guidance, solution of religious problems, and studies of contemporary civilization, promise much more in character returns than the average boxing or handball club. The reason for this will be discussed later on when we deal with the building of programs from the interests of men and causing these interests to grow until they include those activities that meet specific needs. Groups dealing with life problems present greater opportuni-

ties to the leader to lead the Club on than do sports interests.

We may as well frankly face the stern compulsion of reality and admit that there are a great many people using the Young Men's Christian Associations now for whom probably the best contribution the Association may make is to give them a little supervised recreation. Association secretaries become very highbrow at times in leading men in recreation. It would be mighty fine if all men found real joy and recreation in the search for a solution to the ills of modern society. It would bring joy to the hearts of many physical directors, Association secretaries and directors if certain men found Bible classes as zestful as punching their opponents on the "button". Literary people would probably be delighted if all men read the *New York Times,* the *Atlantic Monthly,* Pulitzer prize novels, and attended the legitimate drama in large numbers. But the truth remains that many thousands prefer the *Graphic* to the *Times, Judge* and *Life* to the *Atlantic Monthly,* and the revue and burlesque show to the drama. What further complicates the situation is that a great many of those who choose the lesser instead of the greater are humanly incapable of choosing better. Human capacity for the appreciation of the finer things of life and the ability to participate in constructive movements for their dissemination, is definitely limited. And while a great many of those who now prefer punching to discussing might conceivably be brought to the place where they could participate to a certain degree in the discussions of modern problems and to an appreciation of the finer things of life, the fact remains that prob-

ably the larger number of these are incapable of getting joy and recreation on this level. The Associations must be patient in attempting to raise these levels and appreciate the significance of the recreational work they are already doing for this group.

The Principle of Multi-Groupings

Thus far we have discussed two procedures of organization: one the use of the all-inclusive, omnibus type of group in which the members carried on their activities together, discussed the conflicts in their lives, and attempted by means of shared discussions to integrate through the group their various personalities. The second, the use of the special interest group by which men participated according to their particular interests in groups designed to carry on the special activities.

The former type of group is often accused of becoming a clique within the Association. The Willow Giants is a club of fifteen boys, ages 14-16, who live in the same neighborhood, go to the parochial school, and meet in the small square near their neighborhood each afternoon to play. When this group affiliated with the local Young Men's Christian Association, one of their first acts was to have an understanding among themselves that no boy might join their group who did not go to the parochial school.

One would be tempted to say offhand that a group system of organization whereby a group of this kind would be encouraged to continue their discriminations and prejudices would certainly be inimical to the social good for which the Association is striving.

A second criticism of the omnibus group is that it may not provide for a full expression of the interests or abilities of every one who might happen to be in the group. With the emphasis of modern psychology upon the cultivation of the particular abilities of each individual it would seem much the wiser thing to a great many to break up these gangs and cliques and place these boys or young men in groups where their special abilities might get a full chance for expression rather than deteriorating through disuse.

For instance, the Timberwolves was the kind of group which commanded the first loyalty of its members. It was the kind of a group which we have said should have right of way in the Association. Its members "belonged" to the club, they shared many vital interests of life, they helped each other to make attitudes about many phases of life.

There were, however, in this group a number of fellows who were intensely interested in swimming and who were quite able along this line. The leader wisely planned a number of swimming activities with the group—the formation of a swimming team—a life-saving campaign, and other swimming projects. The club was, to use a slang expression "going great", when it was discovered that Eddie was no longer attending club meetings; in fact, he was rarely seen around the Association building. Now Eddie was the poorest swimmer of the lot; after three years at camp during which he had been a regular attendant at the "beginners' swim," he could now with difficulty splash his way across the width of the pool. The leader sensed that Eddie was not interested in the swimming program.

What was Eddie interested in and how could he plan a program just for his interests? Eddie was interested in hiking, in camping, and woodcraft. Inquiring of several clubs it was found that there were a number of other fellows interested in hiking and woodcraft also. The first impulse of the secretary was to organize a hiking club to be composed of all those in the Association who were interested in hiking. But would that be a different sort of club from the Timberwolves? The Timberwolves, you recall, was a club that shared many interests in life, of which swimming constituted only one. A hiking club, on the other hand, would represent a single interest around which to organize a group. Which would offer the most for character education? Evidently there was a need for both.

Had the hiking club been organized what purpose would it have served? It certainly would have given those members of the Association who sought for recreation in the woods, in nature study, on the trail, an opportunity to have satisfied that need and developed their particular abilities along that line. As a competing club with the Timberwolves and other such primary groups it would have caused a conflict in Eddie's mind and in the minds of others as to which group should command their first loyalty. Secretaries deal too lightly with boys' loyalties as a rule. There is a movement on foot, received rather heartily by a great many secretaries, that sets out to build up certain clubs without the slightest consideration of where a boy's loyalty now resides. We may do a boy irreparable injury to pluck him, as it were, from the group in which he lives and tie him up with a purely artificial, temporary group,

and leave him suspended in mid-air when this group passes from the picture. When psychiatry shall have assembled sufficient evidence for us to know what happens when we treat a boy or even a young man this way, then we may know that we are safe, but the evidence from psychiatry, from the persistence of college and high school fraternities, from adult secret orders, yea, even argument from the sanctity of the family itself, all seem to indicate that a fellow's loyalty to any group of his fellow men ought to warrant every respect and merit the most careful handling that skillful men can give it.

What then is the answer to the question? Are we to cultivate boy gangs that constantly narrow their circles of interests, and build up small cliques of young men with restricted acquaintances? Or are we to organize special interest groups for the expression of various interests and let this business of loyalties take care of itself?

It is here that the camp experience comes to our rescue and points a way out in our organizational problem. The basic unit in the camp is the tent group. The wise camp director attempts to make his tent group as homogeneous a group as possible. Similar ages, similar likes, common home backgrounds, these and many other factors he takes into account in making tent assignments. There are other groups in camp life, however, than the tent group. There is, for instance, the beginners' swim group, in which all those who have been unable to pass the beginners' test are grouped for the purpose of instruction in swimming. There are groups in life saving, in baseball, in nature study,

woodcraft, track, and many other phases of camp life, where it is necessary to divide the camp on some other basis than the tent division.

How does this scheme of organization work? First of all, to the tent leader is assigned the responsibility for the growing life of the boy while in camp. He is the person who must sense the needs of the chap and see that these needs are supplied by some part of the camp program. The tent leader is not primarily a conductor of activities, although in most camps he also assumes this rôle in addition to that of tent leader. His primary job is to see that his boys participate in the part of the program which he and they think will be beneficial. Also, we must see that their participation means as much as possible in their lives. It is not enough to get a boy to take part in a swimming meet. The leader must have the tent group back him up and give him proper recognition for his achievement. The leader's job then is two fold: first, to encourage and stimulate the participation of the boy for whom he is responsible in those activities that ought to be worth while for him; second, to make those activities in which his boys participate as meaningful as possible by means of discussions, stories, vespers, and hundreds of other ways in which skillful camp leaders make camp life meaningful to boys every summer.

How can this multiple grouping scheme of organization be translated from camp life into Association life?

First, we must have leaders. We must have leaders who are willing to assume entire responsibility for the growing lives of the boys whom they assume charge of.

They must be tent leaders put into community life instead of camp life.

Second, we must have groups within the Association that correspond to the tent group in camp. It is this group that the leader works with. It is this group that he encourages to participate in the life of the community and it is with this group that he works in the evaluation of the activities in which they engage.

Third, we must have activities that correspond to the specialized activities of camp life. This does not mean that we must have nature study and carpentry, etc. We are only thinking of the organizational end of the analogy. We must have home life, and school life, and church life in which the leader may encourage and stimulate participation. We must have hobby groups either within the Association or, better still, conducted by some agency in the community other than the Association, to which the leader can send his boys as representatives and from which they return to be received by their groups with appreciation of what they have achieved.

The principle of multi-groupings may be best illustrated by the diagram on the following page.

The groups A, B, C, and D in Diagram 2 are basic groups which correspond to tent groups in the camp analogy. From these groups individuals go as representatives to special interest groups according to their interests and according to their abilities.

A single basic group may be thought of as the hub of a wheel from which all spokes radiate and in which all center. The spokes in this case represent ideas, attitudes, and skills acquired by members of the basic

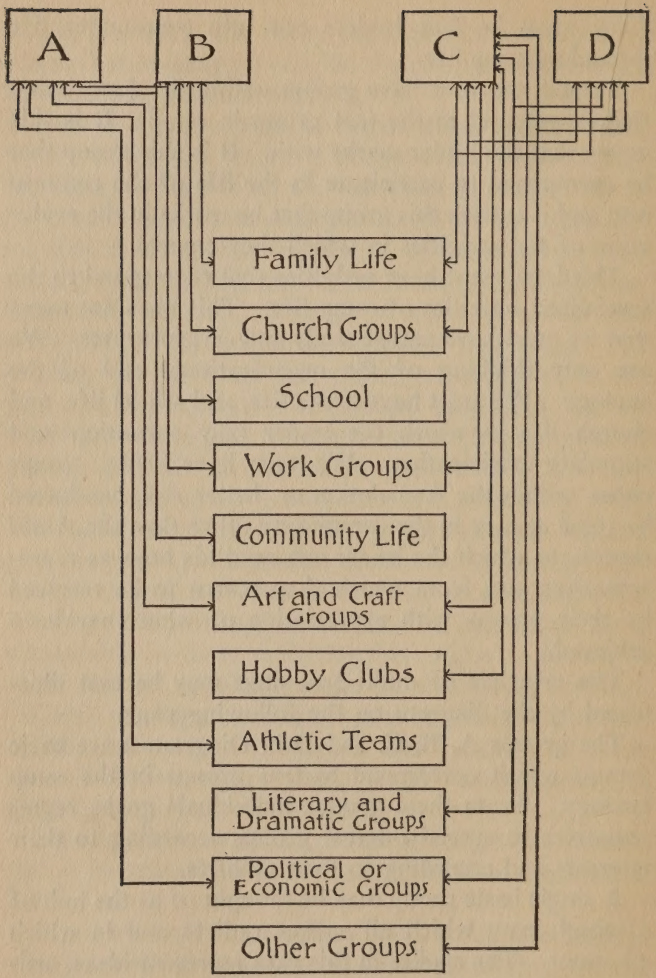
A
B
C
D
Family Life
Church Groups
School
Work Groups
Community Life
Art and Craft Groups
Hobby Clubs
Athletic Teams
Literary and Dramatic Groups
Political or Economic Groups
Olher Groups

DIAGRAM 2

group through participation in various special interest groups and clubs and other groups in life, which are represented in Diagram 3 by the rim of the wheel. It must be noted, however, that this rim of activities has relation to other hubs, that members of these interest groupings may come from several basic units.

How The Principle Works

First, individuals are grouped into those groups which promise to be the best medium for sharing experiences and interests, for talking over things, and adopting attitudes about significant areas of life. These are groups A, B, C, and D in the diagram and may be called the nuclei groups, the unifying groups, integrating groups, evaluating or appraising groups. The job of these groups is not primarily to carry on activities but to set standards, to build up values, to reevaluate. The activities of the groups may be carried on in the small special interest groups. However, what happens in these groups must become a part of the subject matter of the central or unifying groups.

To go back to the Timberwolves and Eddie. According to the principle we are discussing, the hiking club would have become one of the special interest clubs. Eddie would have joined this club a representative, as it were, of the Timberwolves. The leader of the Timberwolves would have seen to it that during the course of the club's program Eddie got a chance to tell the group what he and others were doing in the hiking club. Similarly the leader would see that those interested in radio got into clubs which gave them opportunity to express this interest, but he would also see

that these members got opportunity to bring radio and the Radio Club before the attention of the whole group, that their fellow members might share with them those things in which they were interested. The unifying

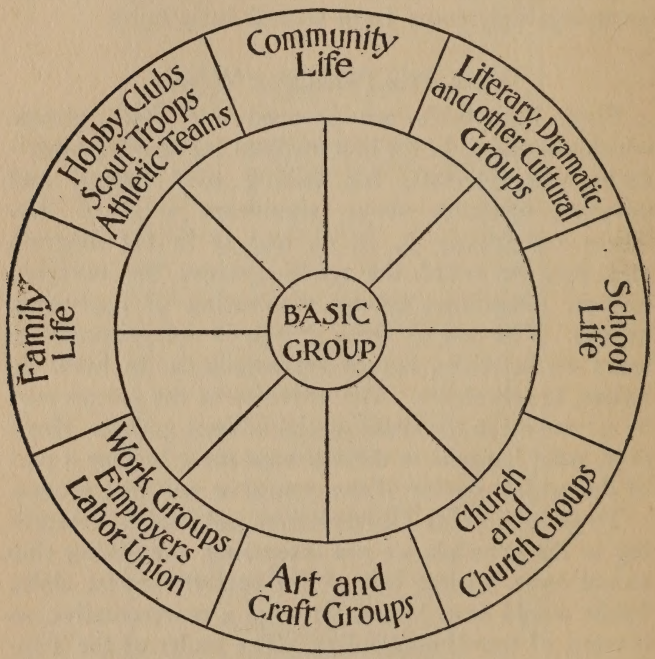

DIAGRAM 3

group would be interested not only in what one is doing but in the value of doing that sort of thing. So the club program would consider hobbies and their meanings in life, and would consider those things which

aid the clubs' consecration to the ongoing purpose of the Kingdom.

The Hi-Y group has long been a group of this general type. As a whole, Hi-Y groups have not carried on special interest activities such as basketball teams, etc., but have been concerned with what happens in the school, on the playground, in the church, at the camp, and in recent days with what happens in the field of international relations, world brotherhood, and social problems of the community. Its job is to concern itself with standards of values, with practices in the various groups with which its members come in contact, but not to teach specific skills or to promote specific activities save as they feel impelled to join in some project that will contribute to the ongoing purpose of the group.

Many employed boy groups are groups of this sort. They attempt as a group to carry on few activities, but attempt rather to make meaningful the daily experiences of their members. Hence the programs contain discussions of vocations with an attempt to help each member to become adjusted vocationally, discussions of boy and girl relations with an occasional dance or party to keep the interest going. The programs include projects of a cultural sort, religious discussions, and other programs which aid the member in evaluating daily life as he comes in contact with it. Such programs lead up to district and state conferences where groups or representatives of groups share with others the thinking they have been doing during the year.

There are, of course, groups of employed boys whose programs consist of little more than a few physical activities. Often upon closer scrutiny these groups are

found to contain a relatively small percentage of employed boys, but contain high school boys who find it inconvenient to attend the afternoon gymnasium classes. Or else the group is composed of members who come from widely divergent backgrounds and have as their only common interest the fact that they all work. If the club be a homogeneous group, one that we may call the work group as described in the previous chapter and has carried on only a few physical activities as the club program, then we had better look to the leadership. Something is lacking.

Y's men's clubs, dormitory groups, and certain other groups of the Associations have tended to become the deliberative type of group which carries on its activities through special interest groups out in the community.

What are the advantages to be derived from this scheme of organization?

Whereas the inclusive club was open to the criticism that it cultivated cliques, multi-grouping provides for many contacts of its members with other groups in life. The multi-grouping scheme sets out deliberately to cultivate an appreciation for other groups in life and their contributions.

The inclusive group was also criticized for not being able to provide for the fullest expression of all of the varied interests of its members. The multi-grouping scheme not only avails itself of all of the activities carried on or conducted by the Association, but also avails itself of all of the activities carried on by any agency within the community. It sets out consciously to stimulate its members to cultivate those abilities which are desirable. It attempts to evaluate the various interests

and abilities of life and stimulate and encourage the development of those that are worth while.

The special interest group failed adequately to consider the rest of life; it failed to take into account the various interests of its members and made little attempt to integrate these interests. This is the primary function of the deliberative group in the multi-grouping scheme.

The question is often asked whether or not the basic group in the multi-grouping scheme of organization tends to disintegrate as the special interest groups become more meaningful. This undoubtedly happens at times when one finds the friends he makes in one of his special interest groups more congenial and discovers that he can share more with them than he can with his former friends in the basic group. It must be seen, however, that the individual has not been left without a primary group relationship, but has simply shifted this relationship from one group to another. If this shifting takes place normally and naturally without the sway of the personality of a leader probably the individual has made an adjustment to a more meaningful group. That sort of shift is desirable.

However, if a weak leader has simply failed to make the special interest group contribute anything to the basic group, if he has failed to have the basic group give the individual proper recognition for his achievement in his special interest groups, then it is perfectly possible for the basic group to mean less and less to him until he drops it entirely without finding an adequate substitute in one of his special interest groups. Such an occurrence might prove to be unfortunate.

It can easily be seen that if this plan of organization were followed to its logical conclusion, the Association as such would eventually carry on few activities within the doors of its buildings. Groups in its membership would be purely deliberative groups, talking over the values of various phases of life, sharing attitudes, and going into action only to achieve ends that cannot be better achieved by other groups in the community. This is probably an ideal that cannot be readily achieved. Twelve-year-olds do not readily meet together to discuss; nor would pugilists relish the thought of meeting with others of their ilk to discuss affairs of the Kingdom. Until such a time when we shall have discovered techniques of making the affairs of Christianity of common concern to men and boys we shall have to carry on a certain amount of activity for most groups.

It is difficult for even the keenest observer to discern whether the trend of the Associations in this country is toward or away from the ideal of the deliberative group. The growth of the Hi-Y movement, the Y's men's clubs, the Gra-Y clubs, Junior Boards of Directors, and the increasing use of the discussion group and forum, are definite indications of a trend toward the deliberative group. The invasion of the Association by its many institutional features, the growth of physical work *per se,* and the many mass activities and spectacular stunts which still remain a part of the program of the Associations are indications of a movement in the other direction.

What seems to be happening in this country is a clarification of the function of the Association as a *movement* and as an *institution.* We are beginning to

separate the two in our thinking and using the Association as an institution for recruiting grounds for the Association as a movement.[1]

Suggested Organization Procedures

Continuous Leadership vs. Division of Labor

We shall discuss more fully in a subsequent chapter the question of leadership as it refers to the reorganization of the Association. We need, however, to call attention here to two practices in leadership that have bearing upon the question of how to organize the Association on a group basis. These we shall call for the lack of better names "continuous leadership" and "division of labor."

By the term continuous leadership we refer to those practices by which the leader of a group maintains charge of his group through the entire round of an Association's activities. He maintains the group intact and takes them into the gymnasium, into the swimming pool, meets with them in club meeting, and follows them throughout the entire program of the Association. While this practice has been followed for years by settlement houses, neighborhood centers, and church institutions, it is a comparatively new practice to the city Association. It is, of course, the standard practice in county work and other non-equipment types of Association work.

Continuous leadership is not so difficult with younger groups. With boys or girls below the high school age

[1] For further consideration of the Young Men's Christian Association as an Institution and as a Movement see Super, Paul, *What is the Y. M. C. A.?*

it is usually desirable. For groups of older high school boys and young men it is more difficult. In order that its values might be conserved in dealing with older groups constant and careful coordination between the leader of the group and those conducting special activities is necessary. The leader's job still remains that of planning the program with the group, stimulating interest, and interpreting meanings. The physical director, the educational director, or the vocational counselor must all serve as specialists and not attempt themselves to plan and conduct programs.

By the term "division of labor" we refer to the more common practice of dividing the life of an individual into compartments and assigning to certain leaders the job of developing a program of activities that will develop this compartment of his life.

If in the division of labor we get the close coordination that we have suggested, with the responsibility for the planning of the program of the group resting upon the leader of the group rather than upon the departmental secretaries, we shall be conserving many of the values discussed under continuous leadership in Chapter VII.

The Staggered Schedule

One of the most frequent objections raised to the so-called group plan of organization is the lack of space or equipment to care for a sufficient number of groups. In order to meet this objection, as well as to provide for certain other values, the staggered schedule of equipment has been devised. This schedule provides for a group's use of a certain piece of equipment for a

part of the hour and the sharing of it with another group for the remainder of the hour.

Suppose Group A were to enter the gymnasium at 3:30. For thirty minutes this group would have the use of the gymnasium, or that part assigned to it, for its own use, to develop whatever group project the club and its leader had planned. This might be the developing of a basketball team, the practicing for a club demonstration, the development of game skills, free play, or any one of a dozen club projects that they might be carrying on. At 4:00 o'clock Group B would appear on the scene scheduled to use the same space. What happens? Any one of a number of things might happen. Certain groups purposely thrown into a similar situation have been known to fight it out, with the winning group taking possession. This has been one way of adjusting differences between groups and has often been resorted to by national groups with the result of war. One does not have to be an experienced educator to note the nearness to life of a situation where two groups are brought into conflict over the use of certain equipment or territory. If the leaders of the two groups understand the significance of the situation it is not likely that this sort of response will take place. Either they will decide to do something together such as play a basketball, or a volley ball game, or put on a health and hygiene demonstration, or else not being able to come to terms they will decide to divide the territory in half, one group occupying one half and the other group occupying the remaining half.

It is doubtful if there is a better gymnasium situation in which to teach respect for personality. The leader

can easily help his group to accept the principle that each member of both groups and his interests must be considered in the planning of the program. No game must be played in which all the members of both groups cannot participate unless something else be provided for these members. Each group must learn to respect the rights of the other group, as well as the rights of the members of their own group.

Not only does this sort of situation provide an opportunity for the teaching of respect for personality, but it likewise provides an opportunity for the members of both groups to acquire a method of settling disputes and differences between contending groups. It is truly a life situation which often arises and has significance for social living.

One can easily see that the secretary who likes a smoothly running program, well organized and well set up so that no trouble ever arises, will not be interested in this kind of schedule. But life is not always smooth. It is a constant adjustment, a continual struggle and conflict, a never-ending series of differences that need to be ironed out. We need to plan programs that will help prepare boys and young men to participate in this kind of life by helping them to live richly in that kind of life here and now.

In order that the staggered schedule might operate as fully as possible there ought to be a general shake-up and turn over every so often so that Group A which in the first period shared equipment with Group B will in the second period come to know and work out problems with Group C, while Group B will do the same with Group D, and so on. During the course of a year

each group ought to come to know and respect, through understanding, as many groups as possible of their own general age level. It would be unwise to bring groups together that were too widely divergent in ages, although this might be a wise thing to do once in a while after groups had begun to achieve something of a technique of cooperation in the working out of similar situations.

Intergroup Councils

Another device to add to the sharing that ought to go on between groups is the Intergroup or Interclub Council, Junior Board of Directors, or other representative organization that will bring together the public opinion of the various groups. This Council provides opportunity for the desires of the various groups to become articulate and affords a vehicle for the carrying on of intergroup activities that aid in the unifying of the Association and the building of a public opinion that makes the Association a real influence for the advancement of the Kingdom in the community.

It is usually advisable to have two or three intergroup councils to represent groups at various age levels, such as a Boys' Council (sometimes two—a younger and an older group), a Young Men's Group, and a Business Men's Group. There ought, however, to be some group where both old and young may share together their experiences in the Association. Occasional setting-up conferences, or matters of concern to all of the Association, such as the building of a new building, the celebration of some festive occasion, or the raising of finances, ought to bring together all of these groups in

their entirety or through representation, that old and young alike may share in some cooperative endeavor.

If the small group is to be most completely capitalized the discovery and use of life groups, or in their absence the creation of such, dealing with the perplexing areas of life, seem to suggest the most fruitful procedure. The organization of the new Association must make it possible for these groups to integrate around a constantly growing scale of values. Organization is certainly not an end in itself but a tool with which we aid men and boys to give expression to the interests, ideas, and ideals which go to make up the Kingdom of God in their community.

Chapter VI

THE PROBLEM OF THE GROUP PROGRAM

A. Discovering Needs and Interests

Our whole approach to the problem of grouping has assumed a certain philosophy as to the kind of program we should carry on in the Young Men's Christian Associations. If we were concerned only about teaching certain game skills in the gymnasium and certain stories from the Bible in club sessions, the question of grouping would not be nearly so important. The assumption on which we have based this discussion of grouping is that what we wish to teach in the Y.M.C.A. may be best taught as an outgrowth of the deeply rooted interests of men's lives, and will serve to advance the Kingdom of God to the extent that it meets the needs of people.

We need to know the deeply rooted interests of men and boys for two reasons: First, if we are going to get men to devote their lives to the extension of the Kingdom of God we must grow their interests and their purposes into the kind that will motivate a life in the Kingdom; second, a very practical reason is that unless we are able to interest men and boys they leave the Association. Unlike the school we cannot require attendance. Unlike the Church we have no halo of

obligation for attendance hovering over us. Our life as an Institution as well as a Movement depends upon the extent to which we are able to satisfy the deeply rooted interests of men and boys.

We must also know the *needs* of men and boys, personal as well as social needs. We ought to know any deficiencies in the normal functioning of any part of one's make-up as well as any lack of full expression in terms of altruistic service. We should know also the special abilities of each person who participates in the program of the Association in order that we may help to integrate these special abilities for the welfare of the whole Association.

Writing to a group of Association secretaries one does not need to emphasize the contention that a program ought to be built to meet the needs of men and boys. Discovering and meeting the needs of men and boys has long been one of the major objectives of the Movement. However, in the rush of details, in the promotion of program, in the work to get as many members as possible that the dreadful deficit may be avoided, secretaries have often been prone to overlook this major objective to the extent of making little real effort to discover actual needs of individuals in the membership. How often has an Association started out the first of the year with the policy of an "unhurried interview with every new member", only to face the stark reality at the end of the season that they were never able to get around to the interview policy. Some Associations have effected a compromise by getting men to check on a long list of activities those particular ones in which they were most interested. In most cases

the lists, having been checked, were carefully filed away as a matter of record.

Attention should be called to the very dubious character of these check lists and the superficial interviews given by the secretary at the time of joining. Under our present system of recruiting members by high pressure salesmanship in membership campaigns, by bulletin board advertising in front of the building, by means of dodgers and illustrated pamphlets sent through the mails, and through the vast amount of time devoted to certain phases of program, nearly every man coming to the Y.M.C.A. for membership has a rather definite conception of what the Y.M.C.A. is supposed to be. This conception, if not determined by the advertising, has most certainly been influenced by it. Does a man come into the Association building to tell the membership secretary that he desires to associate his efforts with others in the extension of the Kingdom of God? Most membership secretaries would feel like routing such an applicant to the consulting psychiatrist, so abnormal would he be. The Young Men's Christian Association as an Institution does not advertise itself as an agency primarily to promote the Kingdom of God, but as an Institution to provide institutional features for those who desire them and pay the specified fees. Hence for a secretary to confront an applicant with a check list of interests, or to ask him in a superficial interview what his interests are, is simply giving the applicant an opportunity to say, "I have read your advertising, I understand you have certain privileges, I am interested in them, I desire to pay the fee and become a member." Maybe he wishes to become a

handball Christian, or a boxing Christian, or a real estate Christian. He does not know that he is expected to reveal those things which have been troubling him in his daily life, his relationships with his girl friend, or his lack of adjustment in family life, his inability to get a suitable job, his religious doubts, or perhaps the problems of his personal life. These things he keeps to himself and tells the secretary that his major interests in life are basketball, boxing, real estate classes, dormitory, or whatever particular commodity he came to purchase.

If the Young Men's Christian Association as a movement is to recruit members from the Young Men's Christian Association as an Institution,[1] its secretaries must develop new techniques for discovering interests of men that are deeply rooted, together with matters of vital concern, and create a process whereby these shall become the material of a program of mutual helpfulness.

We must here distinguish between those things in a man's life which we have called interests and those things which we have called needs. So often we have taken for granted that when we have discovered deficiencies in a man's life, or areas of concern or anxiety, or symptoms of maladjustment, simply to reveal what we have discovered to him will immediately create an interest on his part in remedying this need. The use of the charts in the Christian Citizenship Training Program was evidently based on this assumption. Interviews with several hundred boys and young men have convinced the writer that this assumption is utterly false. The greatest needs of men's and boys' lives are

[1] Super, *op. cit.*

often to be found in those areas of life which they most carefully and painstakingly avoid. The old evangelical method of scaring men into repentance recognized that men often preferred to lead the sinful life, and while quite conscious of their wrongdoing could only with difficulty be led to forsake the path of sin and cleave to that which was good. While we have analyzed the Christian life into a great many more components than simply accepting Jesus as Savior, the fact remains that men are not necessarily interested in those things which may be their greatest needs. Hence to build a program immediately out of the real needs of men might alienate them from the Association.

There are, for instance, large numbers of men who are interested in preserving the *status quo*. Anything that threatens to make a change is inimical to their welfare. They favor economic conservatism and political and religious fundamentalism. A program designed to meet their needs might include an unprejudiced attack upon conventionalized standards of society. Such a program might be designed to meet some of their greatest needs but might also result in losing them from the program. To hold them the program might have to grow out of superficial personal and group pleasures, such as business men's gym classes, or it might have to be based upon an emotional appeal such as is found in some of the religious meetings, or it might at first consist of a Bible class where the literally inspired Word is taught to pass on "the faith of our Fathers." How to make such an interest shift and grow so that men may become interested in matters pertaining to the increase of their own efficiency as workers in the Kingdom of

God is the problem which yet remains unsolved. We have the same problem with a group of boys who are basketball crazy. Some suggestions as to procedure may be found in the remainder of this chapter and in the last chapter. These are presented as purely tentative suggestions derived from a careful study of the principles of education and limited experimentation with approximately one hundred groups of boys and young men during the past eight years. The records of much further experimentation are needed before we shall have adequate techniques for this accomplishment.

We shall, therefore, have to begin with the interests and strengths of people and proceed, often very slowly, from the point of interest to the point of need. That we shall have to know something about these in the lives of the people with whom we work hardly needs arguing, and yet as we watch the operation year after year of almost the same program within Associations one must conclude that either we have not taken the trouble to locate interests or else we have not known how to translate these into items of program.

Obviously one of our first tasks is the discovery of these interests and needs of people. Let us here discuss briefly some of the techniques that may be used for this purpose. Those considered here are: The Personal Interview; The Group Interview; The Case Study; Questionnaires and Check Lists; Cumulative Observations; and Tests.

The Personal Interview

Possessing probably the greatest number of possibilities, and lending itself to extensive use in the Young

Men's Christian Association, the personal interview deserves intensive study and continued experimentation by secretaries of every type.

There are approximately eight purposes for which the interview is used in the Association:

1. To give immediate help. Under this group would come such interviews as those with boys where the object is to get the boy to overcome certain bad habits, or to join the Church, or to make a Christian decision. Interviews in Find Yourself Campaigns, where the business man is attempting to help the boy to an understanding of business, would also fall in this group.[1]

2. To determine those areas of life to which boy and leader must give attention over a period of time; to arouse the interest of the individuals to known needs and adding a cooperative relationship which shall last over a period of months.[2]

3. To locate deeply rooted interests on which to build a program.

4. To locate needs in the light of social welfare that these may determine specific objectives for the program.

5. To gather ordinary information, such as name, address, age, etc.

6. To study opinions. This use of the interview is important for a general understanding of boys' opinions or young men's opinions regarding human relations.[3]

7. To discover attitudes, "tendencies to act," motives, mind sets, etc.[4]

8. To gather personal experience. "Personal experiences," says Bogardus, ". . . are not only the main sources of knowledge, the main backgrounds of personal opinions and hence of public opinion, and the main creators of personal attitudes, but they are the chief media in

[1] Robinson, C. C., *The Find Yourself Campaign.*
[2] Gregg, A. J., *Group Leaders and Boy Character.*
[3] Bogardus, E. S., *The New Social Research,* p. 72ff.
[4] Gregg, A. J., *op. cit.,* p. 55.

which one's feelings, wishes, emotions, and sentiments well up: the chief origins of one's 'first impressions,' which are usually one's most lasting impressions, and the chief makers of one's beliefs and interpretations of life." [1]

Types of Interviews

1. Gregg mentions the charting type.[2]

The following are types listed by Bogardus: [3]

2. The confidential interview.
3. The confessional interview.
4. The journalist type.
5. The lawyer type.
6. The detective interview.
7. The social worker's interview.
8. The psychiatrist and psycho-analyst interview.

The *charting type* of interview used in the American Standard Program and developed more elaborately in the Christian Training Program, and still used in the Christian Citizenship emphasis, was one of the first attempts to use the interview as a measuring device, not primarily to measure the effect of a program, because this was measured ahead of time and scored accordingly, but to measure the cross section of a boy's life that the graphic representation thereof might be an incentive to action along the line of his greatest need. There was probably in the minds of the originators of this chart, though it is not so stated, the idea that one ought to develop into a symmetrical sort of being. At any rate, one being charted must surely get this idea, that the ideal man is four square, that perfection con-

[1] Bogardus, E. S., *op. cit.*, p. 73.
[2] Gregg, A. J., *op. cit.*
[3] Bogardus, E. S., *op. cit.*

sists not in making a contribution to society of one well-trained ability, but in growth into a four-fold Nirvana, an absorption into the Buddha of symmetrical development. While it is undoubtedly wise for an individual to have a variety of interests, to curtail growth of one interest in order to begin another is at least a questionable procedure. To urge a division of time between the exercise of many abilities is to develop a modicum of abilities rather than superior abilities. That even morons may develop superior abilities is the bright side of the social task in the light of psychological studies in intelligence.

"I can take you," says Burnham, "into a forest in the country and place you where alone you will wander about and lose yourself, or I can give you a moron or defective as a guide who will take you surely and securely along a safe path to your destination." [1] For mental health it is highly desirous that each individual be able to excel in something. In the ideal group each member is superior in something and the leader integrates these superior abilities for a main purpose.

To suggest to an individual that he might attain unto perfection in four great areas of life is to ignore reality. The inevitable limitations of time alone will prevent such, even if it were desirable. The alternatives are special abilities in limited fields or mediocre abilities in many fields.

It is said of Jesus that he grew in "wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man." But it was not because of physical prowess that Jesus upset the world. True there may have been rippling muscles

[1] Burnham, Wm. H., *The Normal Mind,* p. 270.

under a bronzed skin that wielded the whip in the temple, but it took more than physical courage to face the traders in religion operating on concessions from the priests and say to them, "Ye have made my Father's house a den of thieves." It was not because of stature or wisdom or social grace that Jesus was able to stand on the slope of the hill with the crowd about him and declare "It hath been said of old . . . but I say unto you."

It was the spiritual ability of Jesus, an ability gained through intense specialization, that made him the great figure of history. It was his keen insight into the lives of men, into the social forces of the world, plus his spiritually dynamic force that enabled him to start civilization on a long trek toward a new day.

A variety of interests are essential to happiness. An individual should grow in stature, wisdom, and in favor with God and man, but "narrow is the gate and straitened the way that leadeth unto life."

As Dewey has said,[1] "Democracy will not be democracy until education makes it its chief concern to release distinctive aptitudes in art, thought, and companionship."

The *confidential type* of interview is the sort the physician has with his patient. Feeling the need of the kind of aid the physician can give, the patient gladly tells all he knows about the ailment. He understands, of course, that it is confidential. Certain Y.M.C.A. secretaries have built up a clientele of patients who come to them in confidential interviews to get help. As sec-

[1] Dewey, John, "Individuality, Equality and Superiority," *The New Republic,* Dec. 13, 1922, pp. 61-63.

retaries develop a technique for giving guidance to men and boys the word will go abroad that here is someone who can help and we shall find an increasing number of upstanding young men coming to the Association, not to buy its privileges as a commodity, but knowing that from the Association will come avenues of help to aid them in weathering the storms of emotional stress around some concern in life.

The *confessional type* of interview secures release from the tension occasioned by a feeling of guilt. The priest, of course, by virtue of his position secures the best results from the confessional interview. However, other types of interviews may take on the aspects of the confessional. When complete confidence has been established the one being interviewed often makes certain confessions helping him to secure release. This is true in what are called impersonal interviews, where an individual, a total stranger to another, may in the course of a conversation open up and reveal a part of his life that he has not heretofore dared to disclose to his most intimate friends.

The Y.M.C.A., it would seem, may make two uses of the confessional interview. First, a secretary skilled in the technique of interviewing may furnish a real service to men by providing for them a real confessional. Whatever we may object to in the Catholic religion, we certainly have no sound basis in objecting to the confessional. That its value is being increasingly realized by Protestant ministers was brought to our attention recently in the discussion occasioned by the announcement that a prominent Protestant minister in New York City had established a confessional. Many men are at

home in the Y.M.C.A. who do not sustain a sufficiently intimate acquaintance with any church or any minister to use the confessional provided by the church. A secretary skilled in the technique of interviewing, sufficiently discreet, may provide such a service for these men. That the name confessional should not be used is obvious. It would only drive away the type of men it seeks to reach.

A second use of the confessional type which may not be different from the first mentioned type is simply to make the confessional type a part of the process of interviewing. By maintaining a sufficiently impersonal or professional attitude, sympathetically indifferent, every interview may be made to take on certain aspects of the confessional, thus allowing men to talk out the things that worry them.

The journalist, the lawyer, the detective, are all after information. The first is seeking the kind of information that may be termed news, the two last mentioned after accurate information concerning certain events.

The social worker considers interviewing a process whereby the worker becomes intimately connected with the life history of the individual. The purpose is to understand the cause of the present situation and to render the type of service which will put the patient back on his feet again, often mentally as well as socially and economically. The Y.M.C.A. secretary needs to get this distinction between an interview and interviewing as a process. We cannot hope to discover in a single interview all of the things that trouble a man, all of the things that deeply interest him, all the deficiencies in

functioning that we may be able to help adjust for him. Interviewing must become a process whereby the secretary becomes a joint seeker with the member after those realities of life which aid one in becoming a happy and efficient member of the Kingdom of God.

The psychiatrist and the psycho-analyst have given interviewing a change of direction which the Association secretary needs to note. The traditional interview has sought to bring the personality of the interviewer into contact with that of the one being interviewed with the feeling that the stimulating dominance of the interviewer's personality might effect improvement in the life of the one being interviewed. Consequently, many interviews became sermonettes by the interviewer. The psychiatrist is saying that we may help an individual most if we will allow him to talk most, that an individual can often talk out his troubles and they are gone, that what he wants is not someone to preach at him but someone to listen to him. Learning to be a good listener would be one of the first requirements if one wishes to become a successful interviewer.

Suggestions for Interviewers

Do not urge frankness—create the atmosphere of frankness.

Do not approve or disapprove—accept sympathetically.

Learn to listen.

Be trustworthy.

The vocational approach offers an excellent opportunity with older boys and a great many young men. It is often one of the deeply rooted concerns of men's lives.

Appeal to one's ego, which, when released, opens up flood gates of experience.

Be careful not to throw the person on the defensive.

Know as much about the person as possible before approaching him.

Be sure the surroundings are informal. The telephone booth rooms used by some Associations are certainly not conducive to frankness.

Capitalize experiences you may have had that are similar to his own.

Do not rush too quickly to the heart of the matter, yet do not spend so much time in preliminaries that you arouse his suspicions.

Reference to friends whom you know he trusts and respects will often help to establish confidence.

Never forget that the person being interviewed is a personality to be respected to the utmost and not a chemical formula to be analyzed.

Case Study

Interviewing considered as a process soon leads to that prime essential of all successful social and religious work, the *case study.* The case study has long been a successfully used instrument in the hands of social workers. Mary E. Richmond's *Social Diagnosis,* dealing with case study methods, "is the contribution of a great pioneer researcher into the more subtle and human aspects of life." [1] Every Association secretary should be acquainted with this book.

It may not be necessary or feasible for the Young Men's Christian Association to use the case study as extensively as does the social worker, but a few thoroughly made each year plus as much data as can be accumulated on each individual will revitalize membership in the Association and from a practical standpoint increase materially the renewal ratio. As a method of

[1] Deardorff, Neva R., "Running Knowledge," *The Survey,* July 15, 1928, p. 425.

revealing needs and interests the case study has no equal.

A complete study of an individual would include:

1. Physical and medical features
   Health—health habits, etc.
   Strength
   Physical features and characteristics
   Special abilities
   Organic characters with any defects in structure or defects in functioning.
2. Emotional history.
3. Character traits, habits, interests, temperament traits.
4. Heredity and early life.
5. Mental characteristics. Level of intelligence (intelligence quotient or I.Q.) development quotient, accomplishment quotient, special abilities.
6. Social contacts, home background, work or play environment, types of people, church.
7. Conflicts and accommodations. Membership in vital interest groups, participation, performance, attitude toward groups, experience or conflict. Behavior in a pinch.
8. Life philosophy. Life purpose, dominant wish or wishes, practical plans for achievement of these, integration of ideals, progress in the Christian life.

The above is in nowise an attempt scientifically to classify the data or content of a case study, a life history, or a personality record. This is not the place for an extensive treatment of methods of locating the things in men's lives that should be determiners of program. The interested secretary is referred to the annotated bibliography at the end of the book. These books are available through most public libraries.

The obtaining of information is, of course, only one

part of a case study. A real case study has no end save with the severing of the individual's connection with the agency or community undertaking the study. As much information is secured as possible and then a plan of action is decided upon. The individual is observed as he participates in the program decided upon. His reactions to this plan become a part of the record and further plans are made in the light of the total information now available.

Any agency that attempts to build its program with the individual in his group as the focus of effort must of necessity use the case study even though compelled to do so inadequately. Its first function in the Association will be that of revealing needs and interests that the program may be constantly revised more adequately to deal with the life issues of its membership. A second function served by the case study is the adjustment of those individuals in the membership who for various reasons have no sense of belonging to some vital interest group. They are lonesome men who have left behind associates at home, in school, or college, and have come into a strange town to live and work; or maybe they are boys who because their parents have shielded them from normal contacts with other children have not made the step from the family group to the play group; or maybe some other factor has operated to keep them from developing a wholesome group relationship. A third function served by the case study is to aid in dealing intelligently with those individuals who have developed certain anti-social ways of behaving. There are boys who insist on running around on the gymnasium floor when some group is attempting to

carry on its work; there are those who maliciously destroy property; there are still others whose ideas of sportsmanship have not developed to the point of sharing equipment with others.

A very vital function which the case study will serve will be a coordination of the efforts of the various agencies having contact with the individual about whom we are concerned. In this day of multiplicity of organization, it is the rare individual who is not having contact with several agencies within the same community. For the Association to proceed as if it were the only one dealing with this person would certainly result in overlapping and duplication of effort. The person making the case study becomes, as it were, a liaison officer between the various agencies in order that the agency he serves may discover what its peculiar contribution may be.

For instance, there were two boys in a given Association who during the process of work with individuals came to the attention of the case worker on the staff. Her first step in dealing with these boys as a routine matter was to register them in the Social Service Exchange of the city. Through this process she learned that they were known also to the family case work agency, to the Bureau of Child Guidance in the schools, to the community hospital, to the day nursery, and to the State Board of Children's Guardians. Evidently this was no case for the Y.M.C.A. to paddle its own canoe. It must work in conjunction with these other agencies if the boys were to be most helpfully handled or if duplication were to be avoided. After consultation with the various agencies, the Council of Social

Agencies was finally asked to call together all of the agencies knowing the family that together a plan of action might be worked out in which the Y.M.C.A. might have a part carefully planned in view of the larger needs of the entire family. (Every secretary ought to familiarize himself with the workings of the Social Service Exchange of his community.)

In our own Association in connection with work with boys we have a special committee whose task is the supervision of work with individuals. On this committee are the visiting teachers of the Public Schools, the school psychologist, the executive secretary of the Council of Social Agencies, a teacher of psychology, a psychiatric social worker from the County Clinic, as well as secretaries. In addition to the secretaries and leaders who collect data and present cases we have a social work student doing field work with our Association in dealing with individuals, who correlates and stimulates the work of leaders in this phase of work and to whom is referred all cases of maladjustment. These are all brought to the attention of the Committee and a plan of action worked out.

This plan very often calls for expert services which the Association must seek elsewhere, such as psychiatric service, hospital service, or what not.

The Group Record

If our organization is going to build on the group as the unit then we need to keep some sort of record of the group as such. Will the individual information secured concerning each individual be sufficient for the group record? In other words, if we make duplicates

of our interviews and case studies of those individuals who constitute the group and file them in a folder under the name of the group, will this constitute adequate data upon which to build the program of the group? Gregg suggests that in the charting interviews the average grade of the group in each phase of the program be charted on a composite chart that there may be revealed "an accurate composite picture, as far as he and the boys in his group are able to determine it." [1] There is a real question as to how far such a composite picture of the group gained from the individuals separately really portrays the group. If the contentions of the sociologists be true that the group is a unit, a whole, we may wonder whether such synthesis as a composite chart will reveal much. The experiments of those who have been working with the *Gestalt* theory in psychology seem to indicate that any whole is not fully explicable as the mere sum of its parts; it has a unique existence which is not discoverable through analysis.

It is wise then to keep some sort of a continuous record of the group.

Cumulative Observations

Since writing most of the material included in these chapters there has been published and made available in the "Boys Work Tool Chest" a cumulative record chart, intended primarily for work with boys. This carries cumulative observations one step further and records in chart form many kinds of information that might be obtained in group interviews, personal inter-

[1] Gregg, A. J., *op. cit.*, p. 156.

views, and case studies. It also provides a way of recording observations that might be made from time to time of individuals as they come in contact with their fellows or participate in the Association's program. This is all that the term cumulative observations means, but it furnishes a very real addition to the information gleaned through other sources.

The Group Interview

Not as a substitute for, but as a supplement to, the personal interview the group interview may be used to locate centers of interest around which to build a program. Group interviews, like group tests, are much less expensive in time and money than personal interviews, and in the gathering of certain types of data which are less personal and intimate may be just as effective.

Group discussion sometimes probes more deeply into the interests and thoughts of individuals than does a personal talk. Certain individuals who might never open up in an intimate relationship often throw aside reserve in the thick of a group discussion.

One needs, however, to plan very carefully for a group interview. Certain materials ought to be gone over and prepared carefully. If it is to be a discussion, thought-provoking questions ought to be worked out. If it is to be a pencil-and-paper kind of interview whatever materials used must be carefully prepared.

Certainly there ought to be a place in the program of every group in the Association for this group to come together and discuss the things they think ought to be included in their program. This is none other than a group interview. Moreover, we ought to see

to it that the group and the Association as a whole give consideration to every item here expressed by any member of the group.

Questionnaires and Check Lists

We have spoken of the dubious character of the check lists of interests employed by many Associations. Questionnaires also come in this same category. Most

TIME SCHEDULE

Name_____ Age_____ Grade in School_____

DIRECTIONS: Fill out the schedule every day, showing as accurately as possible how each hour was spent. Return to the "Y" as soon as complete.

Hour	Sample	Hour	Sunday	Hour	Monday	Hour	Tuesday
7.00	Get up, dress						
7.30	Breakfast						
8-9.00	Get subway to school						
9-	School						
	Do not fill this space						

Hour	Wednesday	Hour	Thursday	Hour	Friday	Hour	Saturday

DIAGRAM 4

of these and their uses are too well known to need further comment. However, there is one form of questionnaire which ought to be brought to the attention of secretaries: that is the daily schedule, or time study. Probably no other single instrument is as productive of usable information as is the daily schedule. Here we attempt to get people to tell us how they spend their time, with the notion that the way people spend their spare time is a sure index to their interests.

In work with boys school authorities are often glad to work with agencies like the Young Men's Christian Associations in making studies of daily schedules. The schools are anxious to know what the correlation is between amount of recreation and scholarship, and other matters of interest which may be determined by the daily schedule. (See Diagram 4 on preceding page.)

Tests

Tests of various kinds to locate interests and needs have not been widely used in Associations. There has been a general feeling that we would better steer clear of them as they do not offer much for us. On the other hand, the widespread use of objective tests to determine the probable success of a person in many walks of life suggests that it might be possible to devise or use already prepared tests to determine the extent to which an individual applying for membership might succeed as a member of the Association.

This is not the place to discuss at length any of these various tests, as we are here dealing only with working tools to the extent that they have bearing upon our problem of working out the philosophy of group organi-

zation. We should, however, point out one or two suggestive tests that have been used in relation to discovering information about people that might serve as helps in program building.

Intelligence Tests

No one needs to be reminded of the vast use that has been made of intelligence tests during the past decade. They have been used by colleges in an attempt to select those students who would be most likely to succeed in the kind of curriculum they had to offer. They have been used by schools as an aid in planning special programs for both gifted and dull children. They have been used by psychiatrists and psychiatric social workers as aids in the understanding of and the emotional adjustment of certain pupils. They have been used in the study and prevention of juvenile delinquency, and in various other ways.

One hesitates to suggest the use of intelligence tests within the Association. The writer once heard of a secretary whose job was that of vocational guidance, who used intelligence tests to determine how well the applicant did arithmetic problems. One wonders if this sort of abuse ought to be encouraged. That tests of general intelligence may be serviceable if used wisely there is little question. But what is wise use of such tests? Just what help may we expect from them in the building of program?

First of all, intelligence tests do not test interests. That they do indicate possible ranges of interests makes their use suggestive in dealing with new members. For instance, a boy or young man with a high level of intel-

ligence has capacity to understand and enter into the full movement aspect of the Association. He is able potentially to sit down and discuss the affairs of the Kingdom in a broader way than can the individual with a lower level.

Probably one of the most serviceable uses that can be made of the intelligence test is in connection with vocational counseling. Here, just as with interests, tests do not indicate what vocation one ought to select but do suggest certain ranges of vocations within which one might be expected to succeed. We know, for instance, that it requires a higher level of intelligence to succeed in the medical or engineering professions than it does in the trades or unskilled work.

Cases of maladjustment, discipline problems, and other problem individuals might be better understood if the results of intelligence tests given to him might be known. One fourteen-year-old boy was constantly doing things that were considered wrong by the physical director. A Binet test administered to the boy showed him to be a borderline case with little ability to foresee the consequences of his actions.

It would be well here to call attention of boys' work secretaries to the availability of the results of tests given in the schools. Where a secretary can demonstrate his ability to make use of the results of intelligence and achievement tests it has been the writer's experience that the school people are glad to share this information.

Social Distance Test

Bogardus has devised a test of social distance which ought to be helpful to secretaries planning programs

to meet needs of people in the realm of international mindedness. "All human relations," says Bogardus, "may be thought of in terms of social distance." [1] In this test people are asked to express their feelings regarding certain races along a scale ranging from "I would willingly admit members to close kinship by marriage," to "I would exclude from my country."

Survey of Public Opinion

Watson has built a test of people's reactions to controversial situations in certain areas of life. This test is not only a survey of the opinions of people taking the test but is also a measure of fair-mindedness.

Other tests that may be used by secretaries in discovering information about the people with whom they are working are emotional history blanks, home background tests, tests of Biblical information, etc. (See Bibliography, p. 158).

B. Translating Interests and Needs into Program

Why all of these elaborate techniques for locating needs and interests? Are not ninety-five percent of the men and boys who join the Associations interested in physical activities? If we discover a few more deeply rooted interests, what can we do about it? Even those interests which are now checked on application forms are not adequately met, nor are the most general ones met by the present program, save certain recreational needs, and occasionally certain specific needs along physical or educational lines. Therefore why devise elaborate techniques for the discovery of others?

[1] Bogardus, E. S., *op. cit.*

The difficulty lies in the very fact that we have failed to capitalize and make full use of the interests already discovered and have failed to dig beneath the surface and bring to light more deeply rooted springs of action. And we have not done this because we have not possessed any proven techniques for translating these facts into program. The program has been roughly laid out before the season began and the details worked out as it progressed. Wherever particular needs were discovered or where new interests cropped out additions had to be made to the regular program or slight adaptations made in it; rarely do we have a program actually built directly out of the needs and interests of the particular group in the organization.

Objection will be raised by many to the last statement. They will ask if our entire program in the Association has not grown out of the needs and interests of men which secretaries have discovered through years of experience in working with men and boys. The answer is both yes, and no. In the first place, the program has grown out of the *opinions* of secretaries as to what the needs and interests of men and boys were. True, these opinions may have been gathered through years of experience and passed on from one secretary to another, but they are still opinions and need to be scientifically checked. Second, information of this type must of necessity be of a general nature, and must apply broadly to many types of individuals and varieties of groups. Activities planned to fit everyone usually fail to fit anyone well. To strike fire, to evoke interest and enthusiasm, resulting in renewed life for the Association, activities must be planned for specific types of individuals, for specific

groups within the Association. To do this they must grow out of the daily lives of the members; they must deal with actual situations being faced by the members of the group; they must grow interests and purposes out of those which are now deeply rooted in the individual's life.

Most business men who come to the Association are interested in playing volley ball, getting a workout. Many physical directors put that down as one of the real interests of business men which they, the physical directors, have discovered over a period of years. But this superficial interest fades into insignificance beside the great problem of the business man who has just waked up to find that his boy has slipped out from under him and is going his own way to apparent ruin and disgrace. That is a hot spot—a flaming fire of interest that offers a world of opportunity for the Church or Association program.

What is needed is some sort of technique, a patent process if such were not a danger to have, by which information gleaned from the various interviews, observations, tests, etc., discussed earlier in this chapter, could be translated into terms of activities. There is no patent process available, but curriculum builders in the field of education have several suggestions which might well be tried out by the Associations in an endeavor to build a technique of its own by which to construct its curriculum of Religious Education.

Staking Out Objectives

The first step in this process of making a program out of the data we have accumulated and classified is to stake out certain objectives. No one tries intelli-

gently to do a job without staking out certain objectives. There will be general objectives and there will be specific objectives for each group also, and these specific objectives will be tied up very closely with the data discovered relative to the group.

Objectives fall into four classes:

The immediate objective, which consists of the specific activity to be carried out by the group at once, such as a basketball game, a Bible class, a dramatic show, etc.

The ultimate objective, which we may call the good life, or the life consecrated to the promotion of the Kingdom of God.

Two intermediate objectives:

a. The types of experiences which the secretary and the group leader think desirable for the group.
b. The traits of character, such as honesty, purity, enthusiasm, to be developed in the individuals in the group.

In planning the program, the types of experiences desirable will need to be considered very carefully. Such questions as these must be asked by the secretary about each group: what are the activities, the relationships, the attitudes of the members of this group for whom the program is being planned? What are the problems they will have to meet, what decisions will they have to make immediately, a month from now, a year from now, ten years from now? What responsibilities will they have to assume? With what temptations will they be confronted? In staking out program objectives to meet these considerations the secretary must remember that the program must be helpful day by day, it must make the daily lives of the members of the group richer in such a way as to make their lives

in the future richer also. If one wishes to live fully at the age of fifty, the best preparation is to live each day that comes as fully as possible. The Association's program for men and boys must help them to do this.

A group of younger business men of average age, 17, were more concerned over their basketball than any other type of activity. As it was said, they ate and slept basketball. Other physical activities failed to interest them, discussions of vocations bored them stiff. Basketball and more basketball was the only program activity that would interest them. A study of the group revealed an amazing lack of social contacts. None of the members had girls; few attended social events of any sort; their contacts were limited to the men with whom they worked and the teams against whom they played basketball. Objective number one in terms of a type of experience was staked out: Wholesome and satisfying relationships with

(a) Boys and young men of different racial and social levels.

(b) Girls of their own age and similar home backgrounds.

It will be noted that this objective was not stated in terms of an activity to be carried out. The objective might be realized in activities already going on. The basketball interest itself furnished excellent opportunity for the realization of the first part of the objective, and it finally proved to be the best vehicle for the realization of the second part also. The objective was neither phrased in terms of a trait of character to be developed, nor was it stated in terms of generalities such as to improve the members of the group

socially. Neither of these terms will aid the secretary or group leader very much in planning an actual program. Yet these have been the most commonly used terms in defining the direction a program shall take. We need a new vocabulary to state the aims of a group. We lack words with which to describe types of experience that we may stake out for a group. We have used only terms such as honesty, generosity, courtesy, kindness, cheerfulness, and the like. These are abstract words, whereas we need words to denote concrete achievements, such as coöperation, health, playing the game, peace, playing fair. The aims of a group might also well be changed from "be kind," "be cheerful," "be honest," and the like, to principles of conduct stated in terms of actual deeds, such as "love one another," "lend a hand," "be a good sport," "play fair," etc. Let us learn to talk in terms of achievement.

The first step then, in planning the program for the group, is to determine from the discovered needs and the information we have available what types of experience would be desirable for the group and its members. Some of these might be stated in such terms as:

A wholesome group relationship involving satisfying experiences of taking turns, contributing to the ongoing enterprises and the welfare of the group, and happy relations with other members.

Coöperative team play with sufficient initiative to start and carry through games without the aid of the leader or supervisor, etc.

Initiating Activities

Having staked out as objectives the types of experiences seeming to be desirable to the groups, the second

step is to make a beginning with activities. Here the group itself will be brought into the process and with its leader will help determine what these activities shall be. There should be before the secretary the data he has discovered regarding the interests of the members of the group, and the activities in which they have engaged in other areas of life. He and the group leader should be well prepared to make suggestions and in some cases even to urge that a group take up a certain project, if the secretary feels certain that the information he has concerning the group assures that this project will eventually become a consuming interest of the members. The point is not *who* suggests the activity, but does the activity become the purpose of the group to carry through to completion.

There are many devices for initiating activities. Discussions with the group, finally securing its consent; tests to get the judgments of the members regarding the desirability of conducting the activity; and the gradual introduction of the members to the activity in the course of some other activity, are the ones most frequently used.

In suggesting activities it is well for the secretary to know those which as a rule have more leading on and branching out values. Basketball, for example, when properly stimulated may be made to branch out into many fields, but if let alone has a tendency to restrict interests. Hobbies offer many opportunities for introducing new interests through hobby exhibits, through discussions as to the value of hobbies in one's life, whether one should spend his time in a specialized job or whether he should have several interests in life, etc. The value of an activity often lies in its power

to lead on to other and more significant activities. In looking over the array of interests represented by any group, select as the ones on which to build the program those which give greatest promise of leading on.

Enriching Activities

The secret of securing the interests of men and boys in affairs of the Kingdom lies in enriching those activities in which they are at the present time deeply interested. To stimulate, to enrich, partially to control, the experiences and activities of the members of the Association, that is the job of the secretary and the group leader.

It is at this point that the most serious indictment of the departmental organization of the Association is made by students of the movement. Take the game of basketball, for instance. The Association has been playing basketball since the day Naismith introduced the game to the world through the Y.M.C.A. gymnasium, and yet year after year tournaments and leagues in many Associations end with scraps and bitter feelings expressed and harbored toward other fellow players and managers in the tournaments and leagues. We have not learned how so to enrich a game of basketball that there shall emerge from it many activities and projects to be carried on, many character values latent within the game, many fine things of life that count for progress toward the Kingdom. We need a technique for releasing the character values inherent in a game of basketball. And why is this? A very safe guess would be that often the physical director is primarily a physical director and not a religious educator, and hasn't the

time, even if he had the skill and the interest, to concern himself with so setting up a little thing like a game of basketball that other things would grow out of it. His job and the job of the Physical Department is to develop health and such traits of character as go along with fair play in games, clean sportsmanship on the floor, and proper respect for the Association. (Fair play in games is suggested because that is an entirely different thing from, say, fair play in business. The two do not go hand in hand necessarily, and a man taught fair play in a game does not on that account necessarily play fair in business.) If the physical director doesn't set up the game so that character values are released, who can? Under our present rigid departmental organization no one can. No one save a member of the physical staff is close enough to the game to set it up in such a way that the winning of the game shall become secondary and the enjoying of the sport and the relationships with other fellows shall become first.

To illustrate how a game or series of games of basketball may become vehicles for the realization of types of experience significant for Christian character, we will continue with the group of business boys mentioned before and see how there was realized in the group the objectives of wholesome relationships with young men of different racial and social backgrounds and with girls of their own age and similar home backgrounds—the objectives that had been set for the group.

This group had originally been a member of a Y.M.C.A. league which each year awarded a cup and gold basketballs to the winning team. This league as well as most other leagues put a premium on winning

the game. Many were the near fights that marred each basketball season; many unkind things were said of other players and referees; the secretaries (not the players) spent hours together in attempting to work out plans to eliminate the growing hard feeling. This group, partly at the insistence of the secretary, decided to drop out of the league for a year, ostensibly to develop more players through interclub competition within the Association.

The secretary then visited another Branch of the city Association where boys of another nationality came, and with the secretary of that Branch arranged to have a team of French boys visit the home Association of Group X for a game of basketball. The two secretaries also arranged for this game to be simply an incidental part of an evening's program. Group X gladly consented to serve the French group some refreshments and provide a short social program. Members of the French group told of the work of their Branch, of their camp, and some of the people of note who had visited it. There were music, singing and refreshments.

A wholesome and satisfying experience in relations with boys of other nationalities and of differing home backgrounds had become a part of the program. To repeat these experiences would make progress in the realization of the first objective. Other similar experiences with these same boys, with colored boys, with boys from the lower East Side, all followed one another in rapid succession.

To take care of the second phase of the objective, plans were made with the secretary of the neighboring Y.W.C.A. whereby Group X was invited to a little

social affair given by one of the clubs at the Y.W.C.A. This stirred hitherto dormant interests and it was with little difficulty that the group was persuaded to send a return invitation. This party included a basketball game with their French friends, and a social afterward with their opponents and the girls as guests.

The basketball interest now began to dim and in its place an interest in social affairs and girls began to occupy the limelight. A deeply rooted interest had branched into a new field—character was being made.

It will be noted that the method used to cause the interest in basketball to branch into a new field was not to suppress this interest but to enrich it and give it full expression. Thus, having discovered deeply rooted interests and selected those which give most promise of leading on, the second step is the enrichment of these interests. Make each item of program as rich as possible with accompanying experiences that these instead of remaining marginal may become the focus of attention.

Controlling Experience

The third and last step in the building of the program is the controlling or directing of the lines of interest. When a deeply rooted interest branches out it takes various directions. If graphed it might resemble a fan with many lines of interest radiating from a single interest at the apex which is the focus of attention. To deal with all of these would, of course, be impossible. Selection is necessary. Again we should select those lines of interest which promise to lead on and these in turn branch out into other fields; selection again

takes place with a recurring spread. Each activity becomes a stepping stone to still more activity leading upward and onward. "The aim of education is more education," says Dewey.

Thus we see the process of building the program for a group consists of the following steps:

1. The discovery of deeply rooted interests in the life of the group and its individual members.
2. The discovery of needs or deficiencies in the mental, social, religious, and physical life of the members of the group.
3. In the light of these needs a staking out of specific objectives in terms of the types of experiences deemed desirable for the group.
4. A selection from among the deeply rooted interests of those which give most promise of leading in the direction of the objectives.
5. The planning with the group of certain activities along the lines of these interests.
6. The enrichment of these activities by the addition of other activities closely related so that the interest branches out.
7. Selection from the newly developed interests of those which again promise to lead in the direction of the objectives.
8. The planning of new activities along the line of these new interests.

The foregoing statement comes as near to being a blue print for program building as anything the writer can discover in modern educational methods. Yet in so general a statement as this, certain notes of warning must be sounded lest even this sort of blue print become a guide for wrongly educating boys and young men.

First, the controlling and directing of the lines of

interests as they branch out is a dangerous and responsible task. The very genius of a deeply rooted interest is its capacity to grow and take on new forms. To say in advance what these forms shall be is to limit its capacity to grow. Was it wise in the case of Group X to direct the basketball interest into the field of girl relationships? What would have happened had this interest been permitted to grow stimulated but unfettered without the restraining and directing hand of adult guidance? The issue is clear: To what extent are Y.M.C.A. secretaries justified in controlling and directing the enriched experience of its members?

The main safeguard to be placed about any activity is the insuring of its leading on. Any directing or controlling which thwarts and curtails the activity robs it of a large share of its usefulness. Yet activity constantly is being controlled by forces within the environment, and for the church and Y.M.C.A. not to take their part in also controlling and directing is to sacrifice their influence for other influences within the environment which may often be inferior. What is the solution?

Suppose we take the question of giving a child an idea of God. Of all ideas concerning the universe probably our ideas of God are most inadequate as well as inaccurate. Shall we then give to children our own conceptions of God and teach them ideas which might be untrue? What else is there to do? We cannot wait until boys are old enough completely to think through their own ideas. They are being given ideas of God on every hand. Parents, chums, teachers, the grocery man, the ice man, all are helping the child to

arrive at an idea of God. Shall the Association remain quiet? The least we can do is to share with the child the very best we have—the most adequate conception we are capable of and at the same time cultivate that discriminating attitude which critically remakes that conception as he grows older.

Wherever we seek to direct any line of experience we must at the same time impart a critical attitude that reconstructs that experience and moves on to higher levels.

Civilization is like an aeroplane; as soon as it loses its flying speed it is in for a crash. A static society is the greatest enemy to religion that we know.

A second danger is that we shall work and educate entirely within the narrow scope of superficially expressed interests and shall never come to grips with the more vital problems which concern religion in our day. These problems are dealt with more at length in the last chapter as we consider the prophetic function of the Young Men's Christian Associations. In this chapter we are concerned only with the educational implications involved.

There is abroad in the Association a gross misinterpretation of some of the principles of modern education. "Let the boys decide," "Let the club make its own program," "What do you want to do, fellows?" are some of the expressions denoting this philosophy. Usually a program built on this sand foundation rarely extends higher than swims, a few athletic games, and occasional socials. May we expect people of any age, without previous training in independence, without a sufficient background of experience, to build a program

of activities that lead people into the Kingdom? May we expect boys of twelve without the aid of skillful leaders intelligently to carry on a program of worthwhile activities?

The danger is not so much in the trying out of this kind of procedure as it is that in the event of failure to achieve what was expected of it the one trying it out will declare, "Modern education is all bunk," and will forthwith return to the traditionally imposed program of stunts and Bible classes. As a matter of fact many groups when let alone entirely do conduct many worth-while activities, but certainly these may be made much richer where the adult shares them with the child in a joint enterprise.

There are, of course, many so-called schools in modern education. Not all modern educators agree with Dewey, although he has probably been the greatest single source of stimulation in the modern educational thinking. In spite of the wide differences of opinion among the educators there are few, if any, who would sanction the lackadaisical soft pedagogy practiced by those who let individuals do just what they wish. Here as elsewhere, "a little learning is a dangerous thing," and the secretary who has gotten his conception of democratic education from a two weeks' course in a summer school is a dangerous program builder. This very philosophy is working in the Association as a vaccine to immunize those who try it out and those who see through it. For instance, a physical director who had been inoculated with some of this vaccine, in order to show the fallacy of modern education exclaimed: "Why, would you let a two-year-old child choose its

own food?" Possibly he had not heard of a certain nursery where they experimented for months with the project of letting each child choose its own food, with very excellent results. However, the point is that he had grossly misunderstood certain principles of education and had mixed malnutrition and soft pedagogy into a vaccine with which he had inoculated himself against any further inroads of the disease of education.

What is there in the newer education that has something to do with letting people make choices?

Indeed the making of choices is a very important part of one's life. One's character is largely made up of the choices he makes. If he chooses bad companions they have a bad result upon him. If he chooses a certain kind of vocation it affects his life materially. It is therefore of the utmost importance that people shall choose wisely. A program to affect vitally one's life must allow every possible opportunity for the making of choices. A program to affect vitally for the best one's life must insure that these choices shall be made wisely.

We may say then that the Young Men's Christian Associations must let their members choose their own programs and do those things they wish to do, but we must see to it that they choose wisely and desire to do those things which make for richer living. This leads us immediately into a consideration of the place and function of the leader.

Chapter VII

GROUP LEADERSHIP

One hears occasionally in the midst of discussions of modern educational practice in the Association such comments as the following: "What is the place of the leader?" "Do members of groups decide their own programs?" "Does democracy consist in letting people do what they want to do?" Democracy and modern education not only do not dispense with the leader and the skilled specialists, but on the contrary demand a higher grade of leadership than was ever necessary in the days of the regimented, imposed program.

No discussion of the problem of grouping would be adequate without certain considerations of the problem and place of leadership. Regardless of the type of grouping used, regardless of the program, if the leadership is weak the results will more than likely be meager. It has often been said that "character is caught, not taught," and, as we have previously observed, a great deal of our program has been built on this assumption. While this may not be an accurate expression of the way learning takes place, as the modern psychologist would state it, nevertheless the abiding experience still stands that leadership is of paramount importance in character education.

Burnham groups leaders into two general classes.[1] The first is the leader who by sheer force of personality so stamps himself and his ways of behaving upon the group that he alters their behavior patterns and models them to conform to his own. The second is the leader who by close observation and keen insight into the abilities of the members of his group so integrates the superior abilities of the members that they serve the welfare of the whole group. He calls attention to the dangers of the first type and the scarcity of the second type.

Gregg makes another division of leaders into three types:[2]

1. Those who do their job on a time basis depending upon an outlined program, upon a Sunday school textbook, or upon the directions of the supervisor or secretary for the program for the group.
2. Those who take a standard outline or suggested program as a starting point, and adapt it to the interests of the particular groups with which they are working.
3. The third group which he calls "first-class leaders" includes those leaders who have studied the learning process, who are concerned enough about their job to dig in and find out what it is all about. They have a "well coordinated theory of boys' work," and are approaching the job in an intelligent, democratic, educational way.

With many leaders, including secretaries in the Young Men's Christian Association, there is the great temptation to be paternalistic, to do things for those whom they are supposed to be leading. Not only does this prevent the group from ever becoming an inde-

[1] Cf. Burnham, Wm. H., *op. cit.*, pp. 271-273.
[2] Cf. Gregg, A. J., *op. cit.*

pendent unit, but it also draws heavily on the leader until, when his "bag of tricks" becomes empty, he is helpless to continue. The real leader is the one who "progressively makes himself unnecessary." He is the leader who increasingly throws the group upon its own resources, giving it the right to make its own mistakes, to think through and work out its own plans rather than giving it blue prints and ready-made schemes of activities. A good leader constantly seeks to give his group facts on which to work and insists that they base their decisions upon facts. He helps them to build up a method of attack, and together with the members of his group shares the adventure of seeking better ways of living. In the normal group the leader rarely ever dominates, rarely does anything for the group, but rather helps each individual to discover his superior ability and then aids the group in using these abilities and integrating them for the welfare of the entire group and community.

Before going further in a discussion of leadership we need here to call attention to two types of so-called leaders found in the Associations and in the community. One is the leader, the other is the specialist. One is an educator, the other is an expert. The leader is the one who stimulates the group, the expert is the one who conducts the activity or renders specialized service to the group. A dormitory secretary, a young men's division secretary, a boys' work secretary, or a club leader, function as leaders; boxing instructors, teachers of public speaking, real estate, or mathematics, gymnasium instructors, athletic coaches, all act as specialists or experts.

Considerations Regarding the Leader

Occasionally groups furnish their own leaders, more often they are imposed (speaking now of Association groups only) by secretaries, Boards of Directors, or others in authority. In a certain sense of the word these imposed leaders are not leaders at all, but officials, and become leaders only when they begin to symbolize to the groups the things the groups want, when their interests become identified with the groups' interests. Unless the group responds to the ideas, reasonings, judgments, and feelings of the leader he becomes useless, but likewise the leader must respond to the rationalizations and feelings of the group if he is to maintain his leadership.

What then is the task of the leader working with a group in the local Young Men's Christian Association?

First of all, the leader must identify himself with the life of the group he is to lead. He does not have to be one of the group in the sense that he is of it and a member of it, but he must participate sufficiently in the feelings and thoughts of the group to represent to its members something of a symbol of the desires and aspirations of the group. This means that he must know some of the deeply rooted interests of the group, he must share with the members both his own as well as their immediate purposes, and he must be aware of the various activities in which the members engage.

Second, the leader must be able to stimulate the group to engage in new activities that will make for richer social living. A certain group of younger adolescent boys who called themselves the Musketeers engaged in few activities other than the routine activi-

ties of home, school, and church, and a few physical activities at the Association building. The leader of this group faced the task of stimulating and encouraging their participation in new activities that would lead into richer social living. Probably the first step in this process of stimulation will be a frank facing by the leader and the group of the values for social living realized from their present activities. The decision of the group will then be one of two sorts: either to continue the kinds of activities that they are now engaged in, or to change them and substitute others. In either case, if they have accepted the criterion of social living, they have been stimulated to engage in new activities either similar to or different from the ones in which they now engage, depending whether the ones now being carried on have values for social living.

The kinds of activities the group is stimulated to engage in will depend from the leader's point of view on the specific objectives to be attained by the group; and from the group's point of view on their immediate purposes and interests.

The third task of the leader is interpretation. His followers are participating in life all the while, they are engaging in activities that have more or less meaning to them, they are affiliated with institutions that may or may not enrich their lives, they are living in a civilization which they probably do not understand adequately enough to be constructively critical of—the leader's job is the interpretation of this life so that life's meanings may come to be understood by the group.

A group of thirteen-year-olds of more than average intelligence, with rather rich cultural home backgrounds,

was pursuing a program of recreational activities in the achievement of its interests and purposes as a Y.M.C.A. group when the leader began to function in the realm of interpretation of life. Why poverty?—and they visited centers of unemployment with its accompanying sufferings and privations so in contrast to their own environment. Why misunderstandings among people?—and they visited neighborhood centers in congested districts for first-hand contact with misunderstood people. Why differences among themselves that they seemed unable to settle peacefully?—and they discussed the whole problem of ways of settling differences and maintaining respect for personalities. And so the program went on from one project to another as the leader interpreted to them some of the many and complex areas of life into which they were growing up.

Every experience of life has a meaning for that individual. An integral part of that experience is the reconstruction of it—the appropriating, as it were, of its values to one's self. If a leader wishes to change purposes, to build new ones or to strengthen old ones, if he wishes to help the group create standards of values, he will see to it that his group talks about and mulls over and appraises all of the significant experiences through which it has gone, and evaluates all of the activities in which its members engage.

Finally the task of the leader is integration. We have used this word before both in reference to individuals and to groups. "That we all may be one" has meaning far and away deeper than some of the theological conclusions that we have given to it. That we

may be one in spirit, mind and body, in harmony with ourselves and the universe, is a great objective in twentieth century life. Nothing less than this is the objective of every good leader of every group.

What does this integration mean in the actual work of the leader?

Dick was a chap who could sing wonderfully well for a youngster of his age. Although he played basketball fairly well and was proficient to some extent in certain other skills, singing was his strong point. This at once represented a problem and an opportunity to the leader. Emerson once said, "Every human society wants to be officered by a best class, who shall be masters instructed in all the great arts of life." This statement on the surface seems to be a support for some sort of aristocratic government as opposed to democracy, but it is still possible for a democracy to achieve the very meaning of this statement when the group is led to give attention to the development and integration of the superior abilities of its members. Obviously the task for the leader in dealing with Dick was to stimulate and encourage the development of this superior ability and to help the group members give this ability its proper place in their scheme of values.

Burnham says, "Democratic education consisteth not in the number or heterogeneous character of the children in a class nor in having all children of a given chronological age study the same books at the same place and time, but in so adapting education to individual capacity that every child may have opportunity according to his ability to become superior in some-

thing, to the end that each may be able to give successful service in a normal social group." [1]

A leader interested in this kind of education is not content with a little competition between members of the group, or between groups, in athletics, but goes ahead to transform this competition into the kind in which every member of the group attempts to excel every other member of the group in contributing his greatest ability most completely developed to the service of his group, and in which the group competes with other groups to render the best service to the community and the world.

This then is the job of the leader: understanding and being understood, stimulating and being stimulated, interpreting, and integrating. With such a task let it not be with any doubting spirit that we ask the question, "Is there a place for leadership in the democratic program?"

Considerations Regarding the Expert

While the democratic approach enhances the value of the leader it pays no less attention to the expert. Indeed, from some of the foregoing remarks one might conclude that the job of the leader is to develop an expert out of each member of his group. However, it seems to the writer that the Associations in the past have put undue emphasis upon the function of the expert, with a corresponding ignoring of the function of the leader. It might be nearer the truth to say that they have used experts without attempting to humanize them. In other words, the Associations have had a program of

[1] Burnham, Wm. H., *op. cit.*, p. 274.

activities carried on by experts without due regard to the fact that people respond to activities as total personalities. They have conducted classes without taking into consideration the other interests of the members of the group; they have conducted gymnasium classes without attempting to make the activities of these classes an integrated part of life. If the expert functions in a way that pleases the member he continues to attend the activity. If the expert functions in a way that brings dissatisfaction or distrust, the member may either drop out or he may appeal to some official who, so to speak, represents the member in the Association.

Here we have the same problem in essence that we dealt with in Chapter V in discussing the relation of special interest groups to the varied interests of its members. For instance, a basketball group may recognize the existence of other interests of its members by taking these into consideration in planning its program. A team made up of young men who have to report to work each morning may not easily take a week's trip. If its members are interested in girls and dancing, the group may decide to play a given game early enough to allow those who wish to spend the evening at a dance somewhere, or the group may enlarge its program and include dancing after the game as a part of the evening. Thus any special interest group may simply recognize the value of other interests of its members and eventually begin to make some integration of them, or it may so broaden its program as to include these other interests. By and large we have attempted to get special interest groups in the Associations to do the latter. Boxing clubs must become interested in religious meet-

ings, educational classes must discuss the foreign work of the "Y", etc.

What happens now to the expert? His task is not so simple. As long as the basketball team sticks to basketball the coach is all right. He knows his basketball because he is an expert, a specialist. But when dancing becomes a part of the program his position as expert fades into the background. He may know nothing about music, the best orchestras to secure, nor any of the new and modern steps. So when we ask physical directors, for instance, to become group supervisors, personal counselors, week of prayer propagandists, vocational advisors, religious confessors, or what not, what happens to their expertness? In other words, must the expert, and, in fact, all secretaries of the Young Men's Christian Association, include in their equipment a knowledge of all the complex interests and skills that go to make up the total personalities of all the members with whom they must work? Is the only alternative the one in which the expert or the specialist continues to carry on his specific job for which he has developed an expertness without taking into consideration the varied interests of the members?

The function of the expert seems to be undergoing certain modifications in our present changing civilization. Expertness and authority once went hand in hand. Even yet there is quite a respect for the expert and a willingness to give him authority, as witnessed in the last presidential campaign when an expert was given the highest position of authority in the country. However, people are demanding that experts "humanize" their knowledge. Rather than grant to experts

the authority to act upon the knowledge which they have gathered, people are demanding that this knowledge be made available to the public to be used or discarded as they see fit. Hence admirals are having to make their case for increased appropriations for naval building with statesmen, and authorities in education are having to interpret educational needs to boards of education and other representatives of the people.

Brought down into Association terminology this humanizing of the expert means that the physical director, the teacher of public speaking, or the coach of athletics, must interpret his expertness in terms of the interests and needs of individuals. He must recognize that each individual is a total personality, that life is a unit, and that no activity, however important, may be carried on without being integrated with the rest of life. His contribution must be a part of the total life experience of the member, interpreted in terms of its totality.

So while it may not be necessary for the physical director, for instance, to combine the skills of athletics, calisthenics, "natural program" items, and other skills of physical education, with the skills of a personal counselor plus the skills needed to carry on hobby activities or social activities, we do expect the physical director to know enough about people, to be sufficiently aware of the varied interests of the members, to know enough about the processes of character building, that he shall be able to make his expertness available in furthering the wholesome interests of those with whom he is working, which interests are already finding mediums of expressions in other phases of life.

In other words, the expert must become less of a program maker and more of a resource available to a group if we are to expect interests to grow and lead on into new fields. We may hardly expect a radio engineer in charge of a radio club to conduct a program of dramatics with the same group, yet we do expect of the radio engineer that he shall so conduct his teaching of radio that this interest shall be interpreted as a part of life and given opportunity to branch out and lead into new fields. But if this same radio engineer is made the leader of the club the chances are that the program of the group will remain pretty largely in the field of radio and closely related subjects.

It will be said by some that the above will be true of any group, that the group will carry on a program that will be confined almost entirely within the realm of the particular leader's interests and abilities. If the leader is a good basketball player basketball will very likely be a large part of the club's program; if he is interested in dramatics the club will probably put on plays; if he is interested in world fellowship somehow or other this too will get into the club's program. This is, of course, to a certain extent true in our present practices, but we must remember that we have usually secured leaders on account of outstanding ability in some field and have not chosen leaders skilled in the technique of helping a group discover its interests, utilize specialists to conduct activities in these interests, and grow these interests into new fields. That is why skills of an athletic sort may often handicap a leader instead of being a real help to him.

Continuous Leadership and Division of Labor

This discussion of the place of the leader and the place of the expert focuses attention upon one of the problems faced by the Association whose experiences are being described. While this problem is also faced by county groups, and student groups, as an organization problem it is one primarily of the city Association, where departmentalization has made it acute. It has to do with the use of leaders and experts under two different schemes: the first, the use of continuous leadership, and the second, a division of labor.

Under the present departmentalization of the Association an applicant for membership, if he be a young man, gets his membership card from the main desk and an appointment for an examination by the physical director if he wishes physical department privileges. If he be a candidate for an educational class or a dormitory room or some other institutional feature he is taken care of by the proper officials. It is assumed that the new member comes in to buy a commodity and the machinery is geared up to take care of this immediate desire in the most efficient manner. However, as time goes on this interest in the gymnasium class or the educational class, if properly stimulated, begins to grow. Where the division of labor scheme is operative there is no one on the staff except the expert who is directly charged with the directing of this interest. If the physical interest wanes he may drop out of the Association altogether or he may perhaps become interested in some other activity which has been brought to his attention by another specialist.

If the applicant for membership be a boy and the

Association to which he makes his application be operating on the departmental plan with a division of labor, he may be placed either by his own consent or by the secretary's desire in a club in the Boys' Department which is under the leadership of a volunteer who meets his group once a week. This leader is allowed to share with the boy and the other members of the group almost any interest in the world that is wholesome save those which come within the physical area of life. Here is where the division of labor is operative and these interests are turned over to the Physical Department to be developed by one of the directors or members of the leaders' corps. Proceeding upon the philosophy that "character is caught, not taught," the Association has developed the practice of entrusting its devotional work, its service work, its training in worship, its education for social living, in fact, any work with boys that is of a spiritual nature, to amateurs, to volunteers, to men who spend less than one hour a week with the group, while the work of physical education is done by competent and adequately trained men retained on the staff for that purpose.

Departmentalization with its division of labor is a two-edged sword which cuts both ways into a program that is built upon the interest principle of education. In the first place, it robs the physical director of the opportunity of sharing with individuals many interests of life that run deeper than those exhibited in the gymnasium. It is difficult for one to lead interests out and stimulate them to grow when it is impossible for him to share them to any extent with the members. In the second place, departmentalization robs the group leader

of an entering wedge into the vital interests of the individual on which to build a program. By taking from the leader all opportunity to bring the physical interests of life into the focus of attention, by sending the boy from one department into another, by labeling one kind of activity physical and another religious, we build in the mind of the boy an attitude that religion is something to be added to life. When he is satisfied with the program as given to him by the Physical Department, why, he thinks, do they have to add on something religious? Why do they have to have discussions about life problems? To him the greatest problem so far as his relation to the Association is concerned is how to get another swim.

We therefore face a two-fold problem. First, how shall we deal with an individual so that interests shall lead on rather than become circumscribed? Second, how shall we use leaders and experts in the Association in order to make this possible?

A previous contention of this monograph was that Associations ought to deal with groups which represent mediums for the greatest amount of shared experiences, groups which are true to life. Another contention which the experiment seems to warrant is that these groups should be given continuous leadership. By this term is meant the practice of giving to a leader or leaders the responsibility for the guidance of a group in the entire round of the group's program in the Association and in the community. The Association has maintained for years that it has some responsibility for an adjustment of the individual to his entire environment, not alone to the program activities as promoted

by the Association as an institution. If this be so it might be more effectively carried out if the responsibility for it centered somewhere rather than being divided between two independent departments. Continuous leadership simply means that in the leader or leaders of a group centers this responsibility for the adjustment of the group members to all of life.

The Peerless Club began its Association life as a group of friends in the boys' department. The club was organized, a leader secured, and the group started in to build a program working on the basis of the interests of its members. While the leader did not utilize scientific techniques to locate interests, he did discover that they were greatly interested in baseball, basketball, and football, and decided to make a beginning with these interests. The first difficulty encountered was this matter of departmentalization and division of labor. The leader found that he could not plan a program of baseball and basketball without interfering with the program planned by the physical director with the gymnasium class as the unit and not the club. He therefore, in order to carry on these activities, had to go outside of the Association to use other equipment. Eventually the physical director began to incorporate the baseball and basketball activities into the program of the Physical Department, allowing this club to become one of the teams. This would have been very well if there had been no growth in the interests of the group, but under the persistent stimulation of the leader these interests began to take other forms, such as the desire to play outside teams, the wish to have uniforms for which money had to be raised. Finally these inter-

ests had grown so far away from those of groups which had not had the stimulus of continuous leadership that it was no longer possible to carry on the activities of this group as a part of the general department program. Dramatics, boy and girl relations, social ethics, all came to be a part of the program of this group as contrasted to the physical activities which continued to be the major program of those groups which had been dependent upon divided leadership.

Why did the program of the other groups not grow also? They had exactly the same sort of activities that the Peerless Club had. The activities for the other groups, however, were merely activities, pleasing and satisfying, but conducted separately and apart from the ongoing interests of the members' lives. The physical director was doing his part of the job and leaving to the club leader, who had little touch with the gymnasium activities and no control over them, the responsibility for conducting other parts of the program. The value of an activity lies not so much in the activity itself as in what it leads on to. A baseball interest by itself may not mean a great deal so far as the Kingdom of God is concerned, but when this interest is stimulated and enriched by a wise leader until it widens into a series of experiments in social living, it produces real growth toward the Kingdom. When a deeply rooted interest branches into new fields growth takes place. If the physical director takes the responsibility for the directing of this interest he is stepping out of his rôle as expert to become for the time being a leader. Whether it be a physical director, a secretary, or a club leader who assumes the responsibility for the stimulat-

ing, enriching, and directing of growing interests, let this responsibility center in someone who is charged with the adjustment of individuals to the whole realm of life rather than to some segment. Leadership then becomes continuous.

Group leadership at its best calls for close study on the part of the leader of the abilities of the individuals in many fields. It means that wherever possible the leader will give members of the group opportunity to make choices, to exercise initiative, to express their desires; in short, it means that the leader will become one with the group in the adventure of discovering reality. To deny him the privilege of adventure with his group into the field of physical interests and their outreach is to deny him that right of guiding members in adjustment to factors of life concerning their bodies. It means further separation, further specialization, further compartmentalizing of the mind rather than unity, than integration, than development of the normal mind.

Now there probably is and should be a time in an individual's life when continuous leadership is unnecessary and undesirable. An individual and a group ought to arrive at the point of independence at which they can on their own initiative call into play the specialized leadership of the expert and other resources of the community. For groups that have not learned to utilize the expert, continuous leadership is essential. This will mean that for all play groups, or boy gangs, or elementary school groups we will use continuous leadership, each group maintaining its identity sufficiently to bring into its program a consideration of all significant

phases of life. For high school boys, employed boys, and young men it will mean the centering of program building responsibilities in a secretary rather than in a physical director or other specialist.

Paid Leaders Versus Volunteers

We have spoken of the willingness of the Association to entrust to amateurs and volunteers this business of integration in life, the job of applying Christian standards to all of life. The practice of paid leadership for groups in the Association is gaining headway slowly against many odds. Probably the greatest of these is the lack of available money. We have crowded our budgets to the limit to pay the experts (using this term again in the sociological sense as used above) on our staffs—administrators, business managers, caretakers, advertisers, speakers, instructors, stunt promoters, health specialists, religious specialists, meeting conductors, employment agents, etc., etc. A second objection has been that once you pay a man for a job of this sort you destroy the spirit of the work. He ought to be willing to do it for nothing, for the sake of rendering service. So ought we all of us, ministers, Y.M.C.A. secretaries, teachers, social workers, alike, but somehow most of us cannot afford to work for nothing. Much of the religious education of the Associations is done, as Coe describes it, "with only the fag ends of human energy."

"All honor," says Coe, "to the housekeepers, the factory operatives, the stenographers, the salespeople, and the bookkeepers who are giving a considerable proportion of their free time to uncompensated and often

unhonored labor in the Sunday School. Many of them are bravely, but with great handicaps, struggling to secure adequate training for their work. The spectacle is more noble than it is pathetic. But most of all it is a challenge to the church to realize how her very life is being drained by the economic order against which she has only feebly protested." [1]

Along beside this we might put that group of volunteer leaders of boys' and young men's groups together with those conscientious secretaries who are struggling in spite of all the handicaps of routine, money raising, and set programs, to give to groups here and there the best they have in creative leadership.

It seems to the writer that the way out lies along the line of reducing the number of full-time experts, specialists, and executives in the Associations and increasing the number of part-time paid leaders and supervisors. When Associations are willing to offer a sufficient sum to compensate for the time used they are going to find themselves able to command a great deal more of the time of able young men from the dormitories, from business houses, from schools, from neighboring colleges and universities. For three years our own Association has followed this practice and not for anything would we go back to the old scheme of volunteer club leaders.

This would seem to indicate that we no longer have need for or use volunteers. On the contrary we are using more volunteers than ever before. When we assign to a person the job of leading a club we try to make clear the difference between a leader and a spe-

[1] Coe, G. A., *A Social Theory of Religious Education*, p. 245.

cialist. We try to make him see his job as that of leader, and we promise to try to provide for him all of the specialists needed to carry on any specific activities that come within the club's program. Thus this leader wants a coach for a basketball team, another a coach for a dramatic enterprise, another one who is interested in stamp collecting, etc. Referring again to our multi-grouping scheme described in Chapter V, we are building up a corps of volunteers who are conducting specific interest groups. A young basketball player willingly consents to coach a group of boys in basketball, but he would not be interested in undertaking the leadership of a club. The same is true of the radio engineer, or the artist. The specialized task may be carried on with an average of much less time per week given to a group than can the job of leadership with all that we have implied in it.

Supervision

As the final consideration in the problem of leadership, let us discuss briefly the problem of supervision. Supplying adequately trained leaders is only a part of the progress toward reorganization of the local Association on the group basis. There must go hand in hand with leadership a thoroughgoing and democratic supervision. Someone has aptly described three types of supervision as "snooper-vision", "pseudo-vision", and "super-vision". Obviously there is no place for the two first mentioned in our new philosophy of the Association. Supervision that implies something negative—a spying upon or checking up on—is not calculated to increase the efficiency of leaders. It must be a creative

process shared in by both the leader and the supervisor. It is a process whereby the leader's work is held up to his own scrutiny, whereby another shares the burdens of the leader and assumes a share of the blame, if any, for poorly done work. It is the process whereby all of the work of the various leaders and various clubs is coordinated.

Ordinarily the secretary in charge of the particular division—Boys', Young Men's, or Men's—will act as the supervisor of the leaders in his division. In larger Associations he must necessarily be assisted as the number of groups and leaders a supervisor can handle is definitely limited.

What are some of the duties of the supervisor?

First, he must know and share intimately with the leader all of the problems of leading his group. In order to do this he must maintain a continuous contact with the group. He will at all times know the projects or items of program which the group is carrying on. He will know how they arose and will follow their development. He must let the leader understand that he is there to help him in the solution of these problems. With some groups this will mean that there are times when the supervisor may have to step into the breach and take charge of the group. This he will do only in extreme cases. But always he must have sufficient contact and understanding of the group that he may intelligently help the leader to improve his techniques.

In the second place, the supervisor ought to note and record the improvement a club is making. Not having direct responsibility for the promotion of the program,

the supervisor ought to be sufficiently detached from the situation to be able to record from time to time the progress of the group. This will mean that he will develop techniques for recording such progress, for there are few available for use in the Young Men's Christian Associations now.[1] He will use case studies, cumulative record charts, and other methods of evaluating the work as it goes along.

And finally, the supervisor is responsible for bringing together the problems he has discovered and helping a leaders' group as a whole to give consideration to these, that out of their own jobs they may find the material for their growth in efficiency. He has a training responsibility to his leaders.

Lack of supervision means isolation. The leader with no one to go to with his problems, and no one to show him his faults or how to improve, stumbles along and usually fails. The supervisor must cooperate understandingly and sympathetically with each leader—to make him succeed if this is possible.

This job of the supervisor in no way implies that here is one who knows it all and is to coach the leader that he too may be able to succeed. Any supervisor who sets out to be a self-sufficient fountain of wisdom soon discredits himself in the eyes of his leaders who see his shortcomings. The way of the wise supervisor is that of the humble seeker for light. It is the way of open frankness with every leader, that leader and supervisor together may lose themselves in a great cause that is bigger than either of them.

[1] See Hall, L. K. *Observation Records,* published by Association Press.

There are undoubtedly a number of problems in staff relationships that will have to be ironed out in this area of supervision. How much supervision, for instance, may the secretary of a division expect from the physical director? Can there be a division of labor in the matter of supervision whereby the physical director will supervise physical activities and the secretary or assistant supervise other parts of program? Does not this division of labor involve the same disadvantages and shortcomings that were described in the division of labor in leadership? Ought we on the other hand to expect the physical director, trained in a specialized field, to be skillful in the art of supervising a group in a total program?

When the Association whose experience we are reporting decided to adopt the group plan of organization for its Boys' Division, it was agreed that the member of the physical staff who had given the major part of his time to the physical work with boys would devote this same amount of time to the supervision of clubs. Supervision was thought of at that time as a total process, that is, one was to supervise a club in its total program rather than some segment of it.

There were many difficulties inherent in this plan. First of all we had failed to take into account sufficiently the specialized interests of the physical director. While he was quite willing to accept his new task, he was not willing to accept it to the extent of dropping his physical work and majoring in the field of group supervision. (One could hardly blame him for that attitude.) Hence he did not develop the skills that made his supervision of other activities comparable

to his supervision of physical activities. The program, therefore, remained weighted with the physical phase, rather than having this as an integral part, but only a part, of the program.

A second difficulty lay in the matter of staff organization and the allocation of responsibility. The physical director doing the supervision was on the staff of the Physical Department and responsible to the head of the department. Hence his program of work originated not with the boys' work secretary but with the head of the physical department, while the major part of his work was concerned with the supervising of boys' groups. This necessitated a very close and continued relationship between the boys' work secretary and the head of the physical department, with the boys' physical director trying to please both. It did not afford, however, that close relationship between the supervisor and the boys' work secretary that was necessary for a unified and coordinated piece of boys' work.

As a result of this lack of close contact between the boys' secretary, who was also supervising groups, and the physical director doing supervisory work, there was an inclination to slight such things as the keeping of records, the charting of progress, and the making available to club leaders of resource material needed in the club program. The training of leaders was thus handicapped to a certain extent and their programs suffered accordingly.

The Association's experience to date points definitely to the need for the development within our movement of the skills and techniques of supervision. It is a task that cannot be slighted and made a merely incidental

part of the whole work of a secretary. It is not something that a physical director or a boys' work secretary can take up and do successfully without giving major time and thought to the task. It is very easy for one to think to himself that now he has a leader to care for this club he can forget it and turn his attention to the organizing of others or the development of committee functioning, or undertake new projects. The experience of the public schools, of industries, of settlement houses, in fact, of every organization that has had experience in working with some unit of organization, has shown that it is not only necessary, but very desirable, to maintain constant helpful supervision. The worker himself functions much more efficiently under intelligent supervision, and there is a coordination of work that is well-nigh impossible without it.

The intensity of the supervision given a group will vary according to a number of circumstances. There is less need for close supervision of a leader who has a group of boys alone on a large playground than there is for the leader who has a group that must fit into a closely crowded schedule where other groups are close by, even sharing the same equipment. There is, of course, less need for constant supervision of an experienced leader than there is for one who has just made a beginning. Most Associations will, as they make the transition to the group plan, find themselves not only with crowded schedules but also with inexperienced leaders, making doubly important the matter of careful and wise supervision.

Chapter VIII

THE WIDER IMPLICATIONS OF GROUPING

The foregoing chapters have been largely devoted to a discussion of *method* as it applies to group organization in the Young Men's Christian Associations. Only here and there has the question of the content of the program been raised. Ought there to be a certain content of group programs? If so what ought to constitute this content? Who shall determine it? The secretary? The leader? The boys? All three? Will the program of one group differ from that of another? In what ways will they differ? In what ways will they be alike? Are there certain minimum essentials of all programs? What relation has the central purpose of the Association to the group program? What is this purpose? Who determines it? How may it be changed? How does it change itself as the Association grows? What does the group plan of organization achieve that could not be achieved just as readily under the departmental plan?

Method has come to assume an increasingly significant meaning in religious education and it has been the purpose of this monograph to deal more fully with that phase of the education process than with content or curriculum. It would be unfortunate to create the impression that the two are separate and distinct segments of

the education process, for the two are so closely interrelated and bound one to the other that a discussion of one immediately entails a discussion of the other. After all, method is simply an integral part of the stream of experience, which experience itself constitutes curriculum or program.

If we deem the experience of attending a Bible class and the memorizing of certain passages of Scripture desirable for a given group, the method of making this experience meaningful is simply a part of the experience itself; it cannot be lifted out and made a separate thing in and of itself. Therefore this discussion ought not to close without a brief consideration of the matter of program.

After all the way we judge the results of a particular kind of organization is in terms of the content of the program and its effectiveness in the lives of boys and men.

It is very well to point out that since the inception of the group plan of organization the attendance at physical activities alone has increased over two hundred per cent. It is surely desirable to know that the renewal rate has been materially increased by this process. It is certainly significant to know that the correlation between membership figures, renewal rates, and attendance has risen from zero to approximately seventy-five. (Before the plan was put into operation there was no relationship between the number of members and their attendance at activities. During some months when the membership figures reached a high peak, the attendance dropped off. During months when attendance was at a high peak renewals dropped

off. There was simply no relationship between any two of them. However, during the nine months immediately following the beginning of the group plan there was a perfect relationship between any two of these variables. When attendance was high renewals were high, and when membership figures mounted so did renewals, and so did attendance figures. They did not, of course, maintain this perfect relationship indefinitely.) There are however more important questions to be asked regarding the effectiveness of the program, and the extent to which the group plan contributes to the central purpose of the Association.

There were undoubtedly in the minds of the leaders of the Association putting into practice the group plan of organization certain notions of what the Young Men's Christian Association ought to do, what its job was, what its function in the particular community was, and the feeling that this new plan could do this job and fulfill this function better than could the departmental plan of organization. Had their conception of work with boys been the teaching of the Bible, the securing of decisions for the Christian life, and affiliation with the Church, it is hardly conceivable that there would have been a change in organization. Had they conceived of this work as health and physical education the change would not have been wise. Had they conceived of the Young Men's Christian Association as a building which afforded a loafing place for "good little boys", there would have been no reason to make a change. All of these things could have been accomplished just as well or better under the time honored plan of departmental organization. There was some-

thing else, something that went deeper, something that involved life in a deeper sense than it had been possible to conceive of before.

In the first place, the Association conceives of its job as the enrichment of the everyday life of individuals. Selfish, personal interests must give way to impulsive good-heartedness; good sportsmanship must become habitual; situations involving social contacts must be so set up that elementary everyday sorts of social behavior shall prove satisfying and rewarding to the individual.

In a recent Older Boys' Conference a buffet lunch was served to some four hundred boys. It was necessary for them to line up and pass a window in order to get their plates. Some of the boys and leaders coming in late immediately went to the rear of the line to await their turns. Many others sensing chances to break into the line near its head by getting in with friends already in line did so. Those who had broken in then proceeded to make fun of those who had gone to the rear with so much embarrassment that a number left the rear of the line and sought breaks in it. To make matters worse, the food supply was a bit short and those serving were compelled to place smaller quantities of food upon the plates of the last ones, so that all in all the experience for those who played the game and whose behavior was social was far from satisfying. The contrast of this is what is meant by the statement that situations involving social contacts must be so set up that elementary and everyday sorts of social behavior shall receive certain satisfactions inherent in the behavior itself. It is not necessary to drag into the picture

prizes and awards and praise for those who behave as socially minded individuals. The reward must be in the doing of the thing itself.

If we examine a few of the activities of Associations in general we shall probably find them heavily weighted with appeals to the most selfish of interests which young people have. Competition, that we might lord it over our opponents whom we have defeated; social approval, the winning of emblems and other awards that our friends shall look on us with admiration, if not with a certain amount of envy; personal advancement and excelling, we urge educational classes that one might advance, health classes that he might keep fit; etc. In other words, instead of selecting certain social interests, that are just as instinctive and basal in life as individual interests, on which to build a program, we have assumed the "total depravity" of human nature—the essential selfishness of all interests—and proceeded to build a program accordingly. Why must we have leagues with cups and medals to appeal to less than the highest within us? Why must we award points and emblems and prizes instead of appealing to higher social motives?

That is the first step, but we cannot be content with mere habitual, unreflective social behavior. Boys and young men must be led to the point of actually sacrificing themselves for the common good. We have little difficulty in educating boys and young men to give money or goods to the less fortunate at Thanksgiving or Christmas time. There is a certain amount of impulsive good-heartedness that expresses itself this way. Such rules of conduct, good sportsmanship, charity,

etc., must be supplemented by habits of reflection. You recall our discussion of the Association ideal as the deliberative group. The individual must be taught to think about the situations of others, to place himself in others' places. This will straightway lead to the *why* of these situations. And then as he considers the consequences of his conduct in the welfare or ill-fare of others, he must of necessity be led to form conscious life purposes that have to do with his relations to his fellow men rather than purposes that grow out of some abstract ideal of duty or perfection.

Here is where the group plan of organization is superior to the departmental plan. It is easy enough to build up habits of good sportsmanship on the gymnasium floor in games, but it is another thing to put this behavior on the reflective level. The group that is sharing life together seven days a week can much more easily be led to evaluate this sort of behavior than can a group that is brought together around some athletic or hobby interest. The habit of discussion and reflection can certainly be more readily built up in a program that provides opportunity for reflection in several areas of life, athletics, recreation, parties, receiving new members, incidents in the life of the group outside of the Association building, and many other things that are integral parts and essential functions of the normal life group, as contrasted with the sport or hobby club which is only concerned with life in the narrow sphere of the club interest.

Life cannot be mere habit; education cannot be merely the building of habits; nor character merely the sum total of all our habits. Life is made up also of

purposes and ideas and ideals. These grow only as we share life together.

In the second place, this Association conceives of its job in terms of the adjustment of the individual. Under the traditional régime problem boys were few and far between. If an individual violated some rule of conduct he received a suspension; if he persistently violated regulations he was probably expelled from the membership. If he was interested in the gymnasium he came and participated in the program planned by the physical director. If he was interested in any of the activities planned by the boys' work secretary he attended and participated in those. Really there was little opportunity for him to show his real nature.

"Frenchy" was a model Y.M.C.A. boy under this sort of régime. No one ever suspected that buried in this boy's mind was an array of complexes sufficient to overwhelm the most courageous adolescent. It was not until the club plan of organization was adopted and attempts made to place him in a club that the true nature of "Frenchy" revealed itself. Not only did he not want to join a club, but there was no club to be found which would keep him in its membership longer than a week or two. He had just been living a highly artificial life in his Y.M.C.A. relations, and was not equal to the task of facing life realistically. He shrank from it and had heretofore found a refuge from life in the Association. Now that the Association was beginning to be like life itself his last refuge was gone, and finally the Association had discovered the real "Frenchy" and could set about to deal with him. After two years of work considerable improvement has taken place, judged

this time, not by his behavior in the building, but by his behavior outside the building in the vital relations of life—at home, school, etc.

Now so many problems of adjustment are being discovered that one sometimes thinks the Association is finding its largest task in helping maladjusted boys to a richer life. Not only does the group plan of organization reveal problems of maladjustment, but it furnishes at the same time one of the best instruments for coping with some of these problems. The trying situations of childhood and adolescence, "when a feller needs a friend", make group life of the intimate, face-to-face kind very essential. For the child dependence upon parents is normal. For this to persist too long is psychopathic. And yet there ought to be some normal sense of dependence.[1] This brings confidence and security to what might otherwise be a lonesome and insecure child. It is better for the mental health of the child to work and play with other children of his own age than alone or merely with adults. To play with others, to lead, to follow, to cooperate, to serve, and even at times to resent and fight, represent healthful activities, all of which are to be found in the normal activities of the group that is true to life.

Not only does the group furnish a center of loyalty, provide a normal sense of dependence, and conduct activities that make for mental health, but it compels its members to face reality. Too often we find individuals like "Frenchy" who hide their face from the disagreeable things of life, and avoid the difficulties; this seems to be a tendency in human life, and requires a

[1] Cf. Burnham, Wm. H., *The Normal Mind,* Chapter XX.

great deal of training to control. This attitude of facing reality is probably the most important condition of mental health, and the most necessary factor in the integration of personality. It is difficult at best to face life, and so often we do not know what life is. The complex problems of home, school, and church, the mystery of where we came from and whither are we going, lead us often into a search for what is reality. With the leader and the group it becomes the task of facing a definite situation, with the development of the attitude of seeking a way out. It means that in the group program there must be included as many of the facts of life, as much of the study of the customs and institutions of life, and as large a portion of the critical, scientific outlook on life, as it is possible for a skillful leader inspired by a supervisor with vision to make meaningful to the members of the group.

Not only does the Association conceive its task to be the adjustment of the individual to society, making for a happier, more efficient, healthier life of the individual, but also the adjustment of society to the individual. In the long run the happiness and health of life depend upon the proper balance between one's strengths, abilities, and interests, and the demands that are made upon him by society. Hence the job of the Association is not only to develop useful citizens but also to develop the kind of society that calls out and uses all of the abilities of the individual without demanding more of him than he is capable of giving.

A great prophet in the early days of the Association declared the ultimate objective of all work with men and boys carried on by this great organization to be

"directly or indirectly, to promote the Kingdom of God". The writer feels that he was voicing the very same thing that is set down as a principle of mental health by the psychiatrist when he says that there shall be a proper adjustment of society and industry to the individual variations in ability and energy. The group plan of organization, rather than getting away from the central purpose of the Association is simply bringing us closer to it. We may use new words with which to characterize our work, we may weave into our conceptions certain meanings that were not always there, but the abiding experience still stands that the purpose of the Young Men's Christian Association is the consecration of the growing purposes of people's lives to the Kingdom of God and their enriched living therein.

Attention has been called previously to the danger of building a program out of the interests of members, that we shall be content with a superficial program which follows the whims of members, letting them do as they like, instead of seeing that they do those things which make for the common good. This is usually the result in our departmentalization scheme where we do not make provision for the expanding of interests. Attention has also been called to the wide diversity and mobility of interests in young people and the opportunity that the leader has constantly to enrich certain of these while letting others atrophy from disuse.

The whole contention of this monograph has been that secretaries ought to build programs out of the interests of boys and young men, that these interests should be fed, stimulated, and enriched, that they should be controlled and directed until they shall lead a person

into the Kingdom of God. This directing of the interests, motives, and purposes of people determines whether the Association is functioning as a prophet of the Kingdom or whether it is promoting a private goodness or giving assent to the kind of society that stunts multitudes of men for the sake of money and exploits them for the sake of power.

First, we lead people to consider the *welfare* of those whom we call our neighbors. In our contacts group with group we build up a habit of taking into consideration the welfare of others. We extend that to include all relief work for the betterment of men's living conditions: health campaigns, facilities for recreation, housing conditions, shorter hours of labor, etc.

Second, having led those in the groups with whom we are working to reflect on the welfare of those with whom we live, we next raise the question of the rightness of the conditions which produce ill-fare. Why so much poverty? Is it possible that there might be a better means of distributing the world's goods? Certainly if we are going to advance the Kingdom of God we must help people find new ways of running our economic and industrial system, so that men will not be invited to grab what they can of the free gifts of nature plus what they can grab of the products of other men's toil.

And finally, we must help each group so to regulate its conduct in respect to every other group that it promotes the welding together of all mankind into one great brotherhood, governed by the integrated superior abilities of each one in a world democracy. The play group and the neighborhood group must set the pattern for

the national and world groupings, and world friendships must become a reality.

Let us indicate just a few fields in which the Associations need to rethink their stands and move away from the method of soft pedagogy, fearing lest they offend some of the members and lose them, into the true education where the Young Men's Christian Associations will put before their members what is inherently so attractive that they will work hard with a feeling that the enterprise is their own.

The many efforts toward permanent peace made during the past decade ought to have the intelligent support of the Young Men's Christian Associations as a movement. As a proponent of an essentially unselfish way of living, the Associations ought to have nothing to do with organized promotion of warfare. War does not merely happen. It is an expression of the selfishness, not only of people as a whole, but more especially of the selfishness and injustice that form a part of our organized legal and governmental systems. It is a part of the same system which invites the individual to grab what he can of nature's gifts along with what he can exploit from the toil of other men. Our members must be made conscious of these conditions which make for war. It is a real life situation to be dealt with in this day when we talk of building our programs out of life situations.

A second field deserving of a great deal of rethinking is that involved in racial relations. The Y.M.C.A. is a teacher. Can it demonstrate to its pupils by its own experiments in social living in the realm of racial relations, and reveal in its own conduct that the way to the

Kingdom of God lies in racial segregation? Is it not time that leaders, both professional and lay, should begin some experiments in practicing a little of the love of Jesus in relation to those of other races? How do we expect our members ever to accept the thesis that to find one's life he should lose it, that to live we must lose our individualistic life?

And finally we must call attention to the wide separation between one's daily job and his Christian vocation. There are entirely too few business men who are trying to Christianize business, but many of them are trying to be Christians in business. The Associations again serve the function of prophet by spreading abroad the notion that the real function of any business must be, not the accumulation and concentration of wealth and goods and profits, but the greatest possible increase in and the widest possible distribution of welfare and happiness itself.

So we could go on to enumerate the unsolved problems of the world which the Y.M.C.A. ought to use as materials for its curriculum or program as it functions in the rôle of prophet of the Kingdom of God.

But where in all of this is God to be found? The scribe who realized the significance of the sayings of Jesus was almost within the Kingdom of God. He was not far from becoming at one with the loving purpose of God for the world. God is not found by retiring within one's self as an individual and informing Him of the order of events and urging him to act in such and such a way. He is not found by release from turmoil and the toil of social endeavor. He is found in very much the same way we find friends and loved

ones in life—by sharing experiences and fellowship with Him. As one participates increasingly in the creation of the divine-human society called the Kingdom of God; as he unites his efforts with others and seeks earnestly to find a way out of conflicting and complex situations; as he explores diligently to discover the solution of a moral problem, he soon realizes that along beside him, working with him, suffering with him, growing with him, is the Divine in the universe that we call God. When our will is in accord with His purpose we achieve the integration of personality that enables us to identify our very selves with the ideal good. This is no individual's affair. It is wrought out as we live our daily lives with our fellows. Therefore the contention that groups true to life, not artificial ones, offer the greatest opportunity for the promotion of the kingdom. In the process the leader shares with the member of the group the adventure into the new world. What a wonderful job for the leader and the secretary.

As a prophet of that faith, working hand in hand with God, who is helping, persuading, achieving, sacrificing, and cooperating, to the end that human-divine love shall realize itself in the government, industry, and daily lives of people, this and nothing short of this is the task, as the writer sees it, of the Young Men's Christian Associations.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DOING GROUP WORK

United Society of Christian Endeavor, World's Christian Endeavor Building, Boston, Mass.
Baptist Young People's Union of America, 2328 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
The Epworth League of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 740 Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.
Young People's Religious Union (Unitarian), 16 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.
League of Youth (Educational Committee of Southern California Congregational Conference), 312 Homer Laughlin Building, Los Angeles, Cal.
The Luther League of America, 707 Muhlenberg Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
Young Judea, 114 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
Jewish Welfare Board, 352 Fourth Avenue, New York City.
Young People's League, United Synagogue of America, 531 West 123d Street, New York City.
Menorah Society, 167 West 13th Street, New York City.
Union of Young Folks' Temple Leagues, 1520 Broadway, New York City.
Boy Scouts of America, 2 Park Avenue, New York City.
Woodcraft League of America, Grand Central Terminal, New York City.
Camp Fire Girls, 31 East 17th Street, New York City.
Playground and Recreation Association of America, 315 Fourth Avenue, New York City.
Boy Rangers of America (Boys 8-12), 186 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
Pioneer Youth of America, Inc., 45 Astor Place, New York City.
Young Men's Christian Association, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City.
Young Women's Christian Association, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

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